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DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: FACTORS FOR SUCCESS AND FAILURE
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A Report Prepared under an Interagency Agreement
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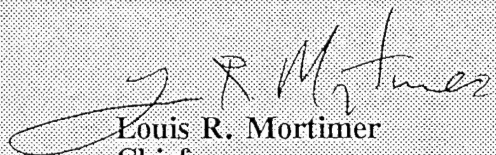*Glenn E. Curtis*
Rodney P. Katz
Thomas Ofcansky
David L. Osborne

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DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Africa--General

Ankomah, Baffour. "Donors Vow to Give Ordinary Africans a Say in Their Own Future." African Business, (London), vol. 16, no. 144, August 1990, 16-19. HC800.A1A35.

The divergence of opinion between Western and African leaders on conditions for economic aid are discussed in this article. Key United States and British foreign affairs' advisers appear to be in agreement that future economic aid to African countries should be tied to democratic developments. According to US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen, and British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, overly repressive government that remains unaccountable to the people is the primary cause of the existing poverty in Africa. This view is shared by the leaders of two international finance organizations. Barber Conable, president of the World Bank, claims that the failure of African leaders to manage effectively more than 3,000 parastatal organizations established with external aid exemplifies the current problem. William Ryrie, executive vice-president of the International Finance Corporation, believes that more economic aid to nondemocratic African countries will only increase their indebtedness. These views are refuted by African leaders. Salim Ahmed Salim, secretary general of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) said in June 1990 that if the prices of African commodities were not manipulated by Western governments, Africa would not be in such bad shape. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda suggests that Western countries are attempting once again to colonize Africa under the guise of calling for democratization.

Ba, Dadie and Kayinda, Balufu B. "Partis, qui en est un? D'ou vient l'argent? (Parties, Who Belongs to One? Where Does the Money Come From?)." Africa International (Paris), no. 230, September 1990, 24. DT1.A13.

This article discusses how political parties in five African countries raise funds. The countries covered are: Gabon, Cameroon, Senegal, Ivory Coast, and Zaire.

Bienan, Henry S. Armed Forces, Conflict and Change in Africa. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989. 210p. DT353.B54.

This book is a compilation of nine essays written by the author between 1977 and 1987 on topics related to civil-military relations in African nations. Ghana, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Liberia, and Uganda are among the nations discussed. In the introduction Bienan argues that military leaders who have taken over governments have almost always opposed promoting democratic systems. However, chapter three, entitled "Populist Military Regimes in West Africa," provides an insightful discussion of how military leaders such as the late Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso or Samuel Doe of Liberia, as well as Ghana's current leader Jerry Rawlings often have tried to promote grassroots political organizations in order to convince their people that they had a voice in government. Bienan suggests that the poor performance of these populist regimes indicates that military leaders lack the political skills to represent the multitude of ethnic, religious, economic, and cultural groups that comprise modern states.

Casteran, Christian and Sada, Hugo. "Sommet de La Baule: l'avertissement (Baule Summit: The Warning)," _Jeune Afrique_ (Paris), no. 1539, June 27, 1990, 14-16. AP27.J4

Most African leaders who attended the June 1990 French-African Summit in La Baule, France were said to agreed with French President Francois Mitterrand that establishment of democratic institutions is in the best interest of Africans. Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana was the only African leader to disagree with Mitterrand. Habyarimana argued that Mitterrand, and other Western leaders, could not dictate to African states how to govern their people. Habyarimana told the French President that it is undemocratic for Western political leaders to think that they can "impose" democracy on Africa.

Chazan, Naomi, et al. _Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa_. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988. vii, 457p. : tables, maps. JQ1872.P635. .

Part two of this book (pages 129-216), reviews the amalgam of centralist, federalist, militarist, and democratic systems that have evolved in Africa since the 1960s. Chapter five classifies national regimes as follows: administrative-hegemonial; pluralist; party-mobilizer;

party-centralist; personal-coercive; populist; and ambiguous. Chapter six observes that while many national leaders have favored socialism over democracy, pressures from influential ethnic, social, and political groups often have forced these individuals to allow particular regions, or even the entire country, to develop some democratic organizations. In chapter eight the authors delineate democratic and nondemocratic electoral processes as they exist today in the region. While Chazan and her co-authors acknowledge the obstacles faced by African politicians who favor the democratic process, they conclude that social forces in many of the African countries now are demanding the establishment of stable and responsive political institutions that include clearly defined military and civilian spheres of influence, and exclude radical groups that favor a personal-coercive style of government.

Cheru, Fantu. The Silent Revolution in Africa: Debt, Development and Democracy. London: Zed Books, Ltd., 1989. 189p. HC800.C44.

The author examines the political situations in Tanzania, Kenya, Ethiopia, Sudan, and Zambia and offers his views on how current national and international trends in these and other African countries will affect democratization and economic development on the continent. Cheru concludes that Western countries must rethink their development strategies to allow for indigenous African groups, particularly the rural poor, to regain control of their societies and governments. If African debts to Western countries and unrepresentative authoritarian rulers who serve Western interests more than those of their own peoples are eliminated, the author predicts an increase in stability could result that would be beneficial to the West and to Africa.

Chesneau, Jean. "Afrique et progres (Africa and Progress)." Defense Nationale (Paris), vol. 46, no. 10, October 1990, 85-97. D410.R45.

The prospects for the promotion of stable democratic governments in Africa are evaluated. The author avers that imported government models cannot work in Africa. The political situations in Ivory Coast, Gabon, Cameroon, and

Senegal are specifically mentioned. Widespread illiteracy,
poor communications, and the primitive religious beliefs
of many Africans are among the factors listed as obstacles
to economic and political democratization in the region.

Cohen, Herman J. "Democratic Change in Africa" <u>Dispatch</u>
(Washington D.C.), vol. 1, no. 12, November 19, 1990,
271-272.

The author, who is the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State
for African Affairs, addressed the African American
Institute in November 1990 and commented on the State
Department's assessment of democratic developments in
Africa. Cohen said that democratization movements in
formerly Marxist nations, such as Mozambique and Angola,
have encouraged the United States to pursue "a partnership
based on mutual responsibility and mutual respect" with
all African countries striving to develop democracy. Cohen
suggests that the multitude of ethnic groups will not be
an obstacle in promoting effective national political
parties in African countries that have had authoritarian
one-party systems in the past. Given time, Cohen believes
that many of today's undemocratic African states gradually
will overcome the obstacles that are preventing
democratization.

Davidson, Basil and Munslow, Barry. "The Crisis of the
Nation-State in Africa," <u>Review of African Political
Economy</u> (Sheffield, United Kingdom), no. 49, Winter 1990,
9-21. HC501.R46

The authors suggest that participatory democracies will
not survive in most sub-Saharan African states until
border and economic issues have been resolved. They
believe that many ethnic groups have large communities in
more than one African state. This fact will tend to result
in wars between an ethnic group and a national government
in which the ethnic group receives support from fellow
tribe members outside the country, as those fought
recently in Uganda, Mozambique and Chad. Davidson and
Munslow opine that the formation of larger nation states
that accommodate the economic needs of bellicose tribes
could contribute to the end of violence. The article
includes a discussion of how regional economic
organizations, such as the Economic Community of West

African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African
Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), could
contribute more to democratization movements.

Diamond, Larry, et al. "Building and Sustaining Democratic
Government in Developing Countries: Some Tentative
Findings," World Affairs, vol. 150, no. 1, Summer 1987,
5-19.

Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal and other African countries are
included in this study of twenty-six Third World countries
that have, or have attempted to establish, democratic
systems of government. The authors concluded that five
factors are important to the success of building democracy
in underdeveloped countries: an understanding by
politicians of competitive politics; the commitment of
various ethnic groups and power holders to accept
political losses as part of the democratic process; the
ability of transitional democracies to meet the economic
needs of various groups; government encouragement of
autonomous private interest groups; and the ability of two
or three political groups to evolve into stable national
parties that adequately represent large numbers of
regional and interest groups.

Evindi, Parfait. "L'etat des lieux du multipartisme (Inventory
of Multipartyism)." Africa International (Paris), no. 230,
September 1990, 13-15. DT1.A13.

This article describes political activities relevant
either to the promulgation or supression of democratic
institutions in 31 African countries.

Fall, Elimane. "L'alternance, demain? (The Change, Tomorrow?),"
Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1561, November 28, 1990, 20-23.
AP27.J4

This article discusses how internal political pressures
are forcing African one-party states to accept, or at
least tolerate, opposition parties. Recent political
developments that describe the beginnings of multipartyism
in Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Congo, Gabon,
Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Niger, Togo, and Zaire are covered.

Feller, Bernard. Les Etats d'Afrique Noire de l'independance a
1980: Essai de typologie. (Black African Nations from
Independence to 1980: Essay on Typology) Bern,
Switzerland: Herbert Lang, 1987. 309p. HC800.F45. .

Part two of the book provides socio-economic and political
briefs for thirty-one sub-Saharan African countries.

Gailey, Harry A. History of Africa: From 1945 to Present.
Malabar, Florida: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co., 1989.
322p. DT20.G3.

The third of three volumes about the development of modern
African states from 1800 to 1988, this book discusses the
many social and cultural elements that have prevented the
development of stable African democratic governments. It
is useful as a reference work on the rise and fall of
those who have aspired to promote democratic competition
in sub-Saharan Africa since the end of World War II.

Gaulme, Francois. "Bilan de 1990: L'annee du multipartisme en
Afrique francophone [1990 Annual Report: The Year of
Multipartyism in Francophone Africa]," Marches Tropicaux
et Mediteraneens (Paris), no. 2361, February 8, 1991,
305-307. HC10.M3

Gaulme assesses the impact of democratization on Africa's
francophone states. Opponents of democratization maintain
that it has a foreign character. In 1990 Hissein Habre of
Chad was one of the most outspoken of these opponents;
undoubtedly for this reason he received no French military
support and thus was overthrown in December by one of his
former lieutenants, Idris Deby. Rwandan President Juvenal
Habyarimana, however, received French aid when facing an
insurgency in October 1990, but was obliged to promise
democratization. The author observes that many African
intellectuals, particularly those educated in Europe,
believe that one-party governments in Africa are unpopular
and cannot survive indefinitely. The article describes the
activities of several groups that are leading
democratization movements, and provides a chronology of
1990 events related to democratization in sub-Saharan
Africa.

Glickman, Harvey. "Frontiers of Liberal and Non-Liberal
Democracy in Tropical Africa." Journal of Asian and
African Studies (Leiden, The Netherlands), vol. 23, nos.
3-4, July 1988, 234-254. DT1.J66.

The author's thesis is that many forms of democratic
institutions are in the process of evolving under
one-party and military regimes in all regions of
sub-Saharan Africa. Glickman devotes particular attention
to Zambia, Ghana, and Tanzania. He supports the programs
of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and other
foreign investors active on the continent because he
believes they have fostered an economic entrepreneurial
class that can coexist side-by-side with authoritarian
leaders and serve as a catalyst for democratic reform.

Hansen, Emmanuel, ed. Africa: Perspectives on Peace and
Development. New York and London: United Nations
University, 1987. x, 237p. DT30.5.A355. .

This book, written by African scholars attending the
United Nations University, suggests that democracy has not
developed in Africa because of European colonialism and
the struggle between the United States and the Soviet
Union for strategic advantages on the continent. The four
parts of the book are entitled: Africa and the World
Crisis; Conflict and Instability; Peace and Development:
National and Regional Strategies; and Peace Development
and Security: Agenda for Action.

Harbeson, John W., ed. The Military in African Politics. New
York: Praeger, 1987. 197p. DT30.5.M55.

The political effects of military rule in nine African
countries are discussed in this book. Military regimes in
Ghana, Burkina Faso, and Liberia initially intended to
increase popular participation in the government. However,
in the long term these military regimes had the opposite
effect. Military governments in Nigeria, Algeria, Benin,
and Congo attempted to forge alliances with civilian
rulers and civil servants and promilitary political
groups. Finally, other military groups have preferred
single-party systems over democratic ones because of their
intention to retain power by converting their rule to
civilian status. The nine chapter authors appear to agree

that the proclivity of African military leaders to become
involved in politics has become too frequent and permanent
an occurrence to be regarded as an anomaly.

Hawkins, Tony. "Black Africa: From Aid Dependence to
        Self-Sustaining Growth," The World Today, November 1990,
        205-208.

        According to Hawkins the leaders of most one-party states
        established relations with the United States and other
        Western democracies to boost the legitimacy of their
        governments. Washington paid little attention to promoting
        democracy in Africa after World War II because of its
        rivalry with the Soviet Union. Hawkins believes that the
        end of the Cold War will not lead to democratization in
        Africa similar to the movement that is prevalent today in
        Eastern Europe because one-party states in Africa are the
        political norm. Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique and Robert
        Mugabe of Zimbabwe are two of the African leaders unlikely
        to allow democracies to evolve in their countries during
        their political careers.

Herbst, Jeffrey. "Migration, The Politics of Protest, and State
        Consolidation in Africa." African Affairs (London), vol.
        89, no. 355, April 1990, 183-203. DT1.R62.

        The independence movement in African countries in the
        1960s, while not immmediately creating the political and
        economic conditions necessary to nurture stable
        democracies, nevertheless contributed to the establishment
        of permanent borders between states on the continent.
        Herbst compares the efforts of African states to stop
        ethnic groups from fleeing across international borders to
        the situation in Europe in the eighteenth century when
        democratic movements were beginning to flourish on that
        continent.

Holman, Michael. "Poised Between Reform and Further Decline,"
        World Press Review (New York), vol. 37, no. 11, November
        1990, 30-31. AP2.A833

        Democratic developments in Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Zaire,
        Angola, Namibia, Kenya, Mozambique, Zambia, and other
        African countries are discussed. The author believes that

the decreasing influence of socialism and communism outside Africa will continue to push African leaders to adopt more democratic political systems and to expand their political and economic relations with Western countries.

Houser, George M. Noone Can Stop the Rain. New York: Pilgrim Press, 1989. xxi, 388p. DT30.5.H68. .

This book represents a 30-year compilation of the author's official and personal contacts with Black-African leaders. Houser was the executive director of the American Committee on Africa (ACOA) from 1955 to 1981. During this period Houser attempted to improve African understanding of democracy, and, in this book, he relates his conversations and correspondence with postindependence leaders who molded Africa's postcolonial era in the 1960s and 1970s. Part one focuses on Houser's first visit to Africa in 1954. Part two examines nation building in Ghana, Kenya, Algeria, and regional politics in central and southern Africa. Parts three and four discuss the often violent national struggles in ten sub-Saharan African countries.

Joseph, Richard, ed. "Commitment to Democratization." Africa Demos (Atlanta), vol. 1, no. 1, November 1990, 2-3. Not in LC.

This Africa Demos editorial examines the progress toward democratization in Cameroon, Benin, and Zambia. The current leaders of these three countries reportedly remain ambivalent about liberalizing their political system. In Cameroon new political groups are allowed to promote multipartyism, but President Paul Biya continues to arrest the leaders of these groups. In Benin, it is unclear if the government will guarantee free elections for a new president in January 1991. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has expressed support for democratization, and he has removed some of the political obstacles that have prohibited the organization of opposition political groups, but he has yet to set a date for free elections or announce his own political plans.

Kitchen, J. and Paddack, Jean-Paul. "The 1990 Franco-African Summit," CSIS Africa Notes (Washington D.C.), no. 115, August 30, 1990, 1-6.

During the sixteenth Franco-African summit held in La Baule, France from June 19-21, 1990, the French government accentuated its policy of deemphasizing military involvement to aid faltering dictatorships and using economic links to promote democratization. Thirty-five African countries attended the summit and twenty-two of these delegations were led either by the head of state or head of government. The authors believe that the gathering of such a diverse group of African leaders underscores France's importance in Africa. French President Francois Mitterrand reportedly wants to limit France's future military role in Africa to protecting French citizens on the continent, and to preventing one African country from invading another.

Labey, Antoine. "La democratie au secours de la crise economique (Democracy to the Rescue of the Economic Crisis)." Africa International (Paris), no. 228, June 1990, 23-25. DT1.A13.

This article covers a roundtable discussion on the meaning of democracy in Africa. Africa International and Radio France International organized the roundtable. The six participants in the roundtable were: Henri Bretaudeau of the World Bank; Philippe Chalmin of the Research Center for Marketing Raw Materials; Herve-Emmanuel N'Kom of Commercial Credit of France; Jean-Pierre Prouteau of the National Council of French Companies; Alioune Sow, a private Senegalese businessman, and Olivier Vallee, a noted French author on African economic affairs.

Legum, Colin. "Africa and the New Wave of Democracy" Daily News (Dar es Salaam), November 1, 1990, 4.

Legum points out that in advocating democracy the West needs to be sensitive to African feelings. Britain appears patronizing to many Africans because it criticizes human rights violations in some African states while it continues to aid the repressive regime of Kenya's Daniel arap Moi. Some Africans also believe the United States follows a double standard by praising African regimes that promise multiparty democracy and never implement it. The

author draws a distinction between Western democracy and universal democratic principles, which he believes can be implemented in Africa. Legum calls on Western countries, including the United States, to use foreign aid to compel African recipients to be serious about their democratization programs.

Markovitz, Irving Leonard, ed. Studies in Power and Class in Africa. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 1987. 400p. JQ1872.S78.

Ghana, Zaire, Cameroon, Zambia, and Mozambique are among the country studies included in this book. The editor opines that African government officials have different moral and political agendas than their western counterparts. Markovitz suggests that the political trend in Africa since World War II has been for the leaders of military, business, and government organizations to use their influence to promote the interests of elites. He disputes claims by Western scholars that the failure of democracy in Africa is the fault of former colonial rulers and foreign businesses that continue to operate on the continent. Markovitz, and the fourteen authors who contributed to this book, suggest that particular African leaders and group have garnered too much power in recent years and their undemocratic ways have caused a deterioration in the standard of living of the African people.

Munslow, Barry and Zack-Williams, A.B. "Democracy and Development," Review of African Political Economy (Sheffield, United Kingdom), no. 49, Winter 1990, 3-8.

The authors maintain that participatory democracy in sub-Saharan Africa will take root if each African state adopts its own system free from international pressure. The article's main points are: communism is no longer competitive with democracy in sub-Saharan Africa because it has failed in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Benin, and other countries. International organizations such as the World Bank must coordinate economic aid and debt repayment programs with each African state in a way that will encourage democratization. Local rivalries among the many diverse ethnic groups in Africa will influence how democracy evolves in almost all African states.

Nwachukwu, Richard Onukegam. <u>The Dark and Bright Continent:
Africa in the Changing World</u>. Dallas, Texas: Good Hope
Enterprises, 1989. xviii, 344p. DT30.5.N92. .

This book is a philosophical examination of Africa's past,
present, and future written by a Nigerian expatriate who
lives in the United States. There are two major themes in
Nwachukwu's study. First, he believes that the selfish and
narrowly focused interests of most African leaders have
brought about the political and economic problems
prevalent in sub-Saharan Africa today. Part two of the
book discusses how coups that have occurred in 22 African
countries since the 1960s usually have been planned and
executed by men who either have had no commitment to the
general population of their countries or have lacked the
political acumen to manage a government. Second, Nwachukwa
is critical of foreign countries--democratic and
communist--that have provided aid to corrupt leaders and
to rebel factions that he believes are only interested in
gaining power for the sake of gaining power. In the final
chapter entitled "The Future of Africa," Nwachukwu calls
on Africans to change the political structures of their
nations from within by withdrawing their support from
self-serving leaders and cooperating with leaders who
demonstrate they can represent people from every ethnic
group and region of their country.

Nyati, Eugene. "Three Decades of Disappointment," <u>World Press
Review</u> (New York), vol. 37, no. 11, November 1990, 36.

The author attributes political failures in sub-Saharan
African countries to the choices made by national leaders
in the immediate postindependence period. Originally the
proponents of one-party states promised that in return for
the elimination of political competition, they would
promote national unity. Instead, one-party rule has
resulted in repression that has caused economic decline
and human suffering on an unparalleled scale. To reverse
this trend, African politicians, both military and
civilian, will have to earn the respect of their
countrymen before they can hope to establish a foundation
for the growth of democratic governmnts on the continent.

Nyong'o, Peter Anyang'. <u>Popular Struggles for Democracy in
Africa</u>. New York: United Nations University, 1987. African
Political Economy Series. xiii, 288p. JQ1879.A15P67. .

This book is a compilation of eleven studies by African
scholars concerning the failure of democratic institutions
to emerge in postcolonial sub-Saharan Africa and in
Morocco. The first chapter, written by Nyong'o, suggests
that the political and economic malaise in various African
nations has been caused by the abolition of democracy by
the political elites. Nyong'o claims that "at the center
of the failure of African states to chart viable paths for
domestic accumulation is the problem of accountability,
the lack of democracy." The second chapter, written by
Harry Goulbourne, describes how Africa's unique brand of
autocracy and socialism differs from the strong central
systems common in Eastern Europe before democratization.
The nine chapters that follow describe the evolution of
the political systems of eight African countries, focusing
on important foreign influences and the political
realities facing these countries in 1986.

Oliver, Roland, and Fage, J.D. A Short History of Africa. New
York and Oxford: Facts on File, Inc., 1989. 302p. : Maps.
DT20.04.

The authors argue that the failure of democracy in
sub-Saharan Africa during the 1960s and 1970s resulted
from government inefficiency and the predilection of the
electorates for cooperating with benevolent despots.
Despite the poor record of democracy in Africa, Oliver and
Fage maintain that most of these countries are
economically less dependent on Western countries and
materially more stable than twenty years ago. The authors
suggest that only time will tell whether future national
leaders in Africa will view democracy as more beneficial
to them and their people than the authoritarian regimes
that continue to dominate the continental political scene.

Olowu, Dele. "Local Institutes and Development: The African
Experience." Canadian Journal of African Studies
(Toronto), vol. 23, no. 2, May 1989, 201-231.
DT19.9.C3.B82.

The reasons why twenty former British colonies in
sub-Saharan Africa have failed to develop local democratic
institutions are discussed. According to Olowu, the
British Colonial Office in London promoted a
decentralization of colonial authority after World War II

with the hope that African leaders would promote democracy
after the colonies became independent. However, the
proclivity of African leaders to stifle divergent
political movements led them to dismantle local
administrative organs and to replace them with centrally
controlled institutions. Olowu argues that because
sub-national organizations in most African countries are
denied independent revenue-raising authority, the
centrally controlled government departments are
overwhelmed. This has led to economic chaos and political
anarchy in most African states.

Onyango, William. "Africa: Spreading Democracy," <u>Third World
Week</u> (Hanover, New Hampshire), vol. 13, no. 1, June 1,
1990, 2-3.

Many African dictators who control one-party states are
changing from opponents to proponents of multipartyism in
reaction to widespread calls for democratization. This
article provides a brief summary of political activities
in Kenya, Tanzania, Zaire, Zambia, Nigeria, Ivory Coast
and Zimbabwe.

Oyugi, W.O. and Gitonga, A., ed. <u>Democratic Theory and Practice
in Africa</u>. Nairobi, Kenya: Heineman Kenya, Ltd., 1987.
208p. JQ1872.D47.

This book contains a collection of papers by African
scholars concerning the obstacles African countries must
overcome to establish stable democratic systems of
government. The ten contributors agree that the preference
of African leaders to consolidate power at the national
level has made it impossible for democracy to develop at
local levels in most African societies. Additionally, some
scholars suggest that economic development under an
authoritarian regime must precede any political movement
for democratization in the poorer African states.

Rake, Alan. "Africa Demands Democracy," <u>New African</u> (London),
no. 272, May 1990, 9-11. HC511.A12

The author claims that several of Africa's leaders, many
of whom were socialists, support democratization because
of the economic problems facing their nations. Julius

Nyerere, Tanzania's former president, blames complacency and corruption within one-party states for "economic mismanagement, chronic corruption, and the entrenchment of privilege by the political elite." The article also examines the progress of democratization in Gambia, Benin, Namibia, and several other African nations. Kenyan President Daniel-arap Moi and Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe are mentioned as opponents of multipartyism.

"Rapid Moves Towards Multipartyism," Weekly Review (Nairobi, Kenya), October 5, 1990, 60-61. JS7648.9.K5M87

Zambia is highlighted as a country where a longtime one-party advocate, President Kenneth Kaunda, has decided to quickly change the country's constitution and political organizations to promote multipartyism. However, the article notes that the pace of democratization in Zambia, and throughout the continent, is likely to take a long time because many African leaders say that premature change will promote chaos. This topic was openly discussed at the July 1990 meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Thus, while there is a consensus among African leaders that democratization is desirable, there are divergent views on how the process is to be implemented and how long it should take.

Ronen, Dov, ed. Democracy and Pluralism in Africa. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1986. 220p. JQ1872.D46.

The nineteen chapters of this book examine the legal, cultural, and political factors that have promoted or prevented the development of democratic institutions in Africa. Many of the authors suggest that at tribal and local levels ethnic groups are practicing participatory democracy as it has been passed down from previous generations. The effectiveness of multiparty democracy (Botswana), controlled democracy (Zimbabwe), and developing democracy (Nigeria) are among the topics discussed.

Rothchild, Donald and Chazan, Naomi, eds. The Precarious Balance: State and Society in Africa. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1988. x, 357p. JQ1872.P74. .

A frequent theme in each of this book's fourteen chapters
is the growing power of nongovernment groups in African
countries to achieve some of their political, social, and
economic goals outside official channels. In chapter
three, Thomas M. Callaghy discusses the political factors
that have caused the failure of many state-sponsored
programs intended to promote economic ties with businesses
in industrialized countries. The inefficiency of
bureaucracies, a paucity of entrepreneurs, African
distrust of foreigners, and ambivalence toward corruption
are a few of the issues mentioned by Callaghy. In chapter
ten, Donald Rothchild and Michael Foley examine the
current political scene in sub-Saharan Africa focusing on
how various regimes recruit politicians and civil
servants. Rothchild and Foley indicate that even the most
authoritarian leaders must utilize some democratic
mechanisms because their countries have competing ethnic,
regional, religious, and class groups that want to share
power, at least at local levels. Co-editor Naomi Chazan
contributes two chapters in which she discusses the
unofficial, and sometimes illegal, private trade and
political organizations that are becoming increasingly
common in Africa. In chapter fourteen she concludes: "The
key analytical task is to unravel the ways in which people
at different levels of social agency have mobilized and
organized resources, allies, and ideas in a continuous
effort to cope with changing circumstances."

Sandbrook, Richard. "Liberal Democracy in Africa: A
     Socialist-Revisionist Perspective," Canadian Journal of
     African Studies (Toronto), vol. 22, no. 2, April 1988,
     240-267. DT19.9.C3 B82

     This article is critical of the popular African argument
     that one-party socialism is necessary before democracy can
     be established in sub-Saharan nations. The author supports
     the idea that developmental authoritarianism (East Asia)
     has promoted strong economies, but he argues that human
     rights often have suffered as a result. Sandbrook also
     suggests that not all Latin American and African nations
     that have democracies have political systems that serve
     the interests of their poorest citizens. Additionally, he
     examines how special interest groups can undermine
     democratic institutions. However, Sandbrook believes that
     the prominence of corruption and ineffective government in
     Africa can largely be attributed to the prevalence of

non-democratic regimes. The author believes that if
African politicians agree to free and fair competition for
political power, then Africa will be on the road to
solving its social and economic problems.

Sandbrook, Richard. "Taming the African Leviathan," World Policy
Journal (New York), vol. 7, no. 4, Fall 1990, 673-702.

This article views the establishment of democracy in
Africa as part of a complex international political and
economic process. The author believes that few African
politicians, even in countries that today have democratic
systems of government, understand and abide by democratic
principles and laws that restrict the consolidation of
power. Sandbrook suggests that most Africans are cynicial
when their leaders speak about democracy because they are
conditioned to expect disappointment. Countries which have
been democratic models in Africa--Senegal, Gambia,
Botswana, and Mauritius--continue to deliver inadequate
services to the poor. The author attributes this situation
to a contradiction common to all democratic states:
democracy empowers citizens with the freedom to accumulate
property; during the development stage democracies are
dominated by an entrepreneurial class; a gradual
assimilation of nonentrepreneurial citizens into the
political and economic system is necessary for democracy
to flourish. Sandbrook notes that developing Asian and
Latin American democracies--Costa Rica, Columbia,
Venezuela, and India--demonstrate how fragile new
democracies can be, and he calls for Africans, and
foreigners interested in Africa, to work patiently to
promote democratization in sub-Saharan Africa.

Tekle, Amare. "The Organization of African Unity at Twenty-Five
Years: Retrospect and Prospect." Africa Today, (Denver),
vol. 35, nos. 3/4, December 1988, 7-20. DT1.A22.

The weaknesses of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)
are blamed on Africa's colonial past and the attempt by
many African leaders to apply Western political ideas
without giving adequate consideration to the sociological
conditions in their countries. Article is critical of the
OAU for legitimizing the rule of authoritarian regimes and
calls for the revision of the organization's charter to
promote democratization in Africa.

Ungar, Sanford J. Africa: The People and Politics of an Emerging Continent. 3d edition. Simon and Schuster, 1989. xi, 571p. DT30.5.U54. .

    Book describes recent political developments in each sub-Saharan African country and provides a prognosis for the future success or failure of democratic movements in these countries. The introduction discusses the political goals of the United States in the region under presidents Carter and Reagan. Part two focuses on Liberia, Nigeria, Kenya, and South Africa. Part three examines former French colonies, British colonies, and those countries the author classifies as American client states. Part four provides the author's predictions for future developments in sub-Saharan Africa.

Vick, David. "Will A Multiparty Policy Be Good for African Business?," African Business, no. 149, January 1991, 10-12. HC800.A1A35

    This article suggests that international businesses and donors to African countries are placing pressure on one-party states to adopt multiparty political systems. The author examines recent moves toward multipartyism in Kenya, Zambia, Tanzania, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique.

"Votes, Wars, Coups, Dictators-And Votes Again?" Economist (London), vol. 318, no. 7696, March 2, 1991, 41. HG11.E2

    Portugal's former African colonies claim to be moving toward the establishment of democratic political systems; additionally, several former French and British colonies are slowly moving in that direction. The article discusses democratic elections in Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe, both former Portugese colonies, and observes that Mozambique has a democratic constitution and will hold democratic elections sometime in 1991. Gabon and Benin are the leading francophone countries in the democratization process. Opposition candidates won many of the seats for Gabon's national assembly in 1990, and there are 14 presidential candidates campaigning for the March 1991 election in Benin. Botswana, Nigeria, and Zambia are the only 3 of 14 former British colonies which are making progress in promoting democratic institutions. The article suggests that more African autocrats will voluntarily

promote democratization in their countries if Western
countries tie future aid to political reforms.

Whitaker, Jennifer S. How Can Africa Survive?. New York: Harper
and Row, 1988. 261p. HC800.W48.

Sociological and political conflicts among Africans
probably will have more influence on the evolution of
democratic and undemocratic systems in Africa in the
future than political and economic influences emanating
from Europe and the United States. Whitaker views the
current struggle between rural-based traditional cultures
and the newly-urbanized and better educated urban centers
as being one of the most significant factors in the
continent's development. The author believes that as this
struggle continues, new African nations will evolve. Some
of these new nations likely will include two or more
existing African nations joining together without a
political or military conflict. However, Whitaker suggests
that it is inevitable that wars and insurrections will
occur in Africa because many Africans oppose existing
political and economic institutions.

"Wind of Change, But a Different One." The Economist, (London),
no. 7663, July 14, 1990, 44. HG11.E2.

This brief commentary suggests that some African leaders,
Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, Omar
Bongo of Gabon, Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast, and
Sese Seko Mobutu of Zaire, to mention a few, have failed
to learn from the democratic movement sweeping Eastern
Europe. The commentary predicts that as long as these
leaders prohibit or deter political and economic
pluralism, there will be little change in Africa's
moribund situation.

Wiseman, John A. Democracy in Black Africa. New York: Paragon
House, 1990. 228p. JQ1879.A15 W57.

The development of multipartyism, and its relationship
with other social and political changes taking place in
African countries, lead the author to believe that
democracy survives on the continent because democratic
systems provide for the needs of people better than

authoritarian systems. Wiseman suggests that political tradition, economic misfortune, and disagreements between groups in heterogeneous societies have caused the demise of newly established democratic systems in African countries like Nigeria and Zimbabwe. However, Wiseman suggests that Western analysts cannot predict when military coups will take place any more than they can predict at what point political institutions in African democracies will become stable. In his conclusion, he observes that if South Africa solves its apartheid problem and evolves into a strong representative democracy, this development could promote democratization throughout Africa.

Central Africa

Agbobli, Atsute Kokouvi. "Le chemin tortueux de la democratie (The Tortuous Road to Democracy)." <u>Jeune Afrique</u>, (Paris), October 16, 1990, 19. AP27.J4.

Article discusses Gabon's new multiparty system and the results of the September 1990 election. The author believes that Gabon's democratic reforms could have a positive influence on other West African countries, particularly the Ivory Coast and Guinea.

Agbobli, Atsutse Kokouvi and Labore, Gilbert Lam. "Notre pays n'echappera pas au multipartisme [Our Country Will Not Escape a Multiparty System]," <u>Jeune Afrique</u> (Paris), no. 1574, February 27, 1991, 20-21. AP27.J4

The multipartyism debate in Central African Republic (CAR) is currently a stalemate, with President Andre-Dieudonne Kolingba as leading opponent and Enoch Derant-Lakoue, chairman of the Coordination Committee for Convocation of a National Conference (CCCCN) as leading proponent. If Kolingba suppresses the debate on multipartyism until after elections, he could employ the political strategy of agreeing to hold the conference after elections. However, if the political and economic situation in CAR deteriorates to the point that he loses control, Kolingba probably would call democratic elections as soon as possible, hoping new opposition parties would not have time to organize an effective effort to topple his government.

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amusan, Gbenga. "Death of the Old Order," <u>African Concord</u>
(London), February 4, 1991, 18. DT515.C688

The opposition Democratic Convergence Party (PCD) won a
majority in Sao Tome and Principe's National Assembly in
legislative elections held on January 20, 1991. The PCD
won 30 of 55 seats, and the ruling Movement for the
Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe-Social Democratic
Party (MLSTP-PSD) won 20 seats. The remaining 5 seats were
won by members of two small opposition parties: Democratic
Coalition Front and Christian Democratic Front. The
article compares democratization in Sao Tome and Principe
and Cape Verde. The opposition party Movement for
Democracy (MPD) won the latter's first democratic
legislative election held on January 13, 1991.

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Le compte a rebours [The Countdown],"
<u>Jeune Afrique</u> (Paris), no. 1570, January 30, 1991, 6-7.
AP27.J4

Two opposition parties in Mali are cooperating to
circumvent a government crackdown on their activities.
Alliance for Democracy in Mali (ADEMA) and National
Committee for Democratic Initiative (CNID) gained public
support in recent months. President Moussa Traore's
appointment of General Sekou Ly to head the Ministry of
Interior is viewed as a sign that the government plans a
new crackdown on the opposition parties.

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Le multipartisme, demain...peut-etre
(Multipartyism, Tomorrow...Perhaps)," <u>Jeune Afrique</u>
(Paris), no. 1570, January 30, 1991, 20-21. AP27.J4

The author charges that Chad's military leader is opposed
to the formation of opposition political parties. In
December 1990 President Idriss Deby denied a request by a
group of former government officials, labor leaders, and
businessmen to establish Chad's first opposition party.
The group, led by Abderahmane Koulamallah, a prominent
member of former President Hissein Habre's National Union
for Independence and Revolution (UNIR), was told by
President Deby that opposition parties will be allowed in
the future, after public order has been established.
Koulamallah had proposed that his group be named Chad
Democratic Union (CDU).

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Le Rwanda entre la raison et la passion"
[Rwanda Between Reason and Passion]," <u>Jeune Afrique</u>
(Paris), no. 1572, February 13, 1991, 12-13. AP27.J4

Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana's military
government has failed in its effort to negotiate a
cease-fire with the leaders of the Rwandan Patriotic Front
(FPR). This article suggests that the insurgency's
continuation represents an obstacle to the holding of
democratic elections in Rwanda. Habyarimana has agreed to
allow his political opponents to return to Rwanda and
participate in a political forum to devise a democratic
government after the insurgency is over.

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Le Rwanda s'arme pour la democratie
[Rwanda Arms for Democracy]," <u>Jeune Afrique</u> (Paris), no.
1577, March 20, 1991, 16-17. AP27.J4

The military successes of the Rwanda Patriotic Front
(FPR), an insurgent group led by Hutus but with some
Tutsis, may facilitate government recognition of the group
in exchange for a cease-fire. Rwandan Minister of Foreign
Affairs and International Cooperation Casimir Bizimungu
recently stated that he expected the FPR to lay down its
arms in the next few months, and, according to Bizimungu,
the FPR could become a political party and challenge the
ruling National Revolutionary Movement for Development
(MRND) in democratic elections.

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Le syndicaliste et le president [The
Trade Unionist and the President]," <u>Jeune Afrique</u> (Paris),
no. 1573, February 20, 1991, 6-9. AP27.J4

The article discusses the political rivalry in Congo
between President Denis Sassou-Nguesso and Jean-Michel
Bokamba Yangouma, leader of the Congolese Trade Union
Congress (CSC). The two men were co-leaders of the
military coup that deposed former Congolese President
Marien Ngouabi in 1977. Today, however, they are
adversaries who head the two most powerful political
groups in the country. When Sassou-Nguesso called for a
national congress of the ruling Congolese Labor Party
(PCT) to discuss multipartyism, Yangouma used the occasion
to challenge the president. He called for labor unions to
participate in a general strike, not only to sabotage the

work of the PCT congress, but also to mobilize workers to
call for Sassou-Nguesso's resignation.

Andriamirado, Sennen. "Les militaires rentrent dans le rang (The
Military Returns to the Barracks)." Jeune Afrique,
(Paris), October 16, 1990, 26-28. AP27.J4.

Article describes the future role of the military under
the Congo's new democratic constitution that becomes
effective in January 1991. Although President
Sassou-Nguesso will continue to hold both his military and
civilian offices, other military officers currently
holding civilian posts will have to choose between
military retirement or giving up their government posts.

Barthabura, Jean. "La tension monte (The Tension is Rising)."
Africa International (Paris), no. 230, September 1990,
36-37. DT1.A13.

The Central African Republic reportedly is becoming more
repressive than ever as President Andre-Dieudonne Kolingba
continues to oppose the movement for democratization in
his country. In response to numerous calls for the
establishment of democracy, the Kolingba regime has
threatened to imprison anyone who publicly speaks out in
favor of a multiparty political system. Kolingba's
political opponents are not strong and the author observes
that France's position on the situation is still unclear.

"Black Africa's Answer to Democracy," Intelligence Digest
(Cheltenham, United Kingdom), October 12, 1990, n.p.
D839.I4548

This article reports that Gabon's September 1990
multiparty election for the National Assembly was poorly
organized and easily manipulated in favor of President
Omar Bongo's ruling Gabonese Democratic Party (GDP).
Thirty-seven parties fielded 533 candidates for the 120
parliamentary seats. Although the article does not include
election results, it reports that GDP supporters stuffed
ballot boxes and intimidated supporters of opposition
parties.

Buijtenhuijs, Robert. <u>Le Frolinat et les guerres civiles du
Tchad, 1977-1984</u>. (Frolinat and the Civil Wars in Chad,
1977-1984). Paris: Karthala, 1987. 479p.. DT546.48.B83. .

> Political and military factions in Chad's National
> Liberation Front (FROLINAT), and the involvement of
> France, Libya, and other countries in Chad's civil war
> during the seven-year period from 1977 to 1984 are covered
> in this book. Part one discusses the factors that
> contributed to the victory of FROLINAT. Part two focuses
> on the evolution of the civil war in Chad from 1979 to
> 1984. Part three discusses the extent of FROLINAT's
> control and influence up to 1984, and the Habre
> government's efforts to heal and rebuild the country.

"Cameroon's Opposition Presses for Democratization," <u>Africa
Report</u> (New York), vol. 35, no. 5, November-December 1990,
10-11. DT1.A217

> President Paul Biya of Cameroon is facing increasing
> internal and foreign pressure to legalize opposition
> parties. John Ngu Foncha, Biya's handpicked vice-president
> of the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM)
> resigned in May 1990, after the government refused to
> allow the opposition Social Democratic Front (SDF) to hold
> a public rally in Bamenda. Leaders of the Cameroon Bar
> Association (CBA), including its president Bernard Muna,
> also support democratic reforms. CBA member Albert Mukong,
> who was interviewed by <u>Africa Report</u>, said that despite
> foreign pressure from France and other Western
> democracies, Biya is continuing to order police to arrest
> anyone who publicly advocates the establishment of a
> multiparty democratic system in Cameroon.

"Central African Republic: Paris Looks for a President," <u>Africa
Confidential</u> (London), vol. 32, no. 3, February 8, 1991,
5-6. DT1.A2125

> President Andre Kolingba continues to resist domestic and
> foreign political pressure to introduce multiparty
> democracy in Central African Republic. In 1990 Kolingba
> ordered the arrest of 25 citizens who organized a movement
> calling for a national conference on multipartyism. Within
> Kolingba's political "party", Democratic Rally (DR), only
> a handful of the president's supporters are still

committed to maintaining single-party rule. France, which
has 3,000 troops stationed in Central African Republic,
has pressured Kolingba to begin democratization or risk
the loss of French support.

"Creation de partis politiques (Creation of Political Parties),"
    Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens (Paris), no. 2344,
    October 12, 1990, 2880-81. HC10.M3

    The names of three new political parties are reported in
    this news brief. They are: Union for Congolese Democracy
    led by Sylvain Bemba, Congolese Social Democratic Party
    led by Clement Mierassa and Celestin Nkoua, and Congolese
    Movement for Democracy and Integral Development led by
    Bernard Kolela.

Dadi, Abderahman. Tchad: L'etat retrouve. (Chad: The State
    Rediscovered). Paris: L'Harmattan, 1987. 222p.
    DT546.48.D33.

    This book examines postindependence politics in Chad. Part
    one focuses on the formative years of the National
    Liberation Front for Chad (FROLINAT). Part two describes
    Chad in crisis from 1973 to 1983. In a postscript, the
    author discusses events after 1983. Dadi concludes that
    President Hissein Habre, having solidified his hold on
    power, is proceeding to concretize his ideas.

DeLancey, Mark W. Cameroon: Dependence and Independence.
    Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989. 193p. DT564.D45.

    Cameroon's culture, foreign relations, and economic
    institutions are examined in this book. Chapter three
    focuses on the political system that has evolved since
    Cameroon gained independence in 1961. The author believes
    that President Paul Biya is sincere about wanting to
    promote multiparty democracy in his country. DeLancey is
    impressed with Communal Liberalism, a book written by Biya
    in 1987 and published in London by Macmillan. In that book
    Biya says that he hopes to preserve Cameroon's agrarian
    culture and limit industrialization by gradually promoting
    local democratic institutions that eventually will play a
    major role in the national polity.

Epee, Michel. "La naissance des contre-pouvoirs [The Birth of
the Opposition]," <u>Jeune Afrique</u> (Paris), No. 1570, January
30, 1991, 18-19. AP27.J4

·The December 1990 arrest of two popular journalists for
writing articles critical of Cameroon President Paul Biya
has created a backlash of antigovernment sentiment in the
country along with more calls for democratization. The
article speculates that the growing public debate over the
arrests of Celestin Monga and Pius Njawe could eventuallly
lead to the emergence of new political opposition parties
in Cameroon.

Epee, Michel. "Le 'oui mais' a la democratie [A "Yes But" to
Democracy]," <u>Jeune Afrique</u> (Paris), no. 1567, January 9,
1991, 26-28. AP27.J4

Cameroon President Paul Biya's government is facing
increasing criticism over its failure to allow opposition
parties access to the media. The Interior Ministry
continues to censor antigovernment broadcasts and
publications. The article discusses how newly organized
opposition parties are coping with these government
restrictions.

Eteki-Otabela, Marie-Louise. <u>Misere et grandeur de la democratie
au Cameroun</u>. (The Misery and Greatness of Democracy in
Cameroon). Paris: l'Harmattan, 1987. 142p. DT578.E84.

The mechanisms used by leaders of the Cameroon People's
Democratic Movement (RDPC) to control dissent and suppress
democratic forces in the country are discussed. The author
argues that twenty-five years under one political party
have not allowed progressive-minded groups to express
their political or their economic aspirations.
Eteki-Otabela concludes that Cameroonians must oppose the
Biya government to bring about a more representative
political system.

Fegley, Randall. <u>Equatorial Guinea: An African Tragedy</u>. No. 39
in American University Anthropology and Sociology Series.
New York: Peter Lang, 1989. : Maps, Appendices. 310p.
DT620.74.F44.

Chapters six through eight include coverage of how
President Obiang Nguema's military regime has talked about
democratization, but has failed to return power to
civilians or to allow power sharing in a democratic
framework. Chapter seven describes how Nguema set up the
July 1987 elections for the country's unicameral House of
Representatives but prevented members of the Progress
Party, led by Severo Moto and Jose Luis Jones, from
competing against his ruling Democratic Party (DP) in the
district elections. Additionally, Obiang financed the DP
campaign with money he extorted from party and public
officials. In chapter eight Fegley suggests that democracy
probably will not come to Equatorial Guinea unless foreign
governments and foreign businesses pressure Nguema to
change his authoritarian ways.

Gaillard, Philippe. "Democratisation: les des sont jetes
    [Democratization: The Die is Cast]," <u>Jeune Afrique</u>
    (Paris), no. 567, January 9, 1991, 7. AP27.J4

Congo's President Denis Sassou-Nguesso surprised
opposition groups in December 1990 when he called for a
national unity conference to be held in February 1991 to
discuss multipartyism. In scheduling the conference
earlier than had been expected, Sassou-Nguesso hoped to
provide an advantage to splinter parties from his own
Congolese Labor Party (PCT). The president's proposals to
raise the salaries of government workers and to introduce
new programs to reduce unemployment were intended to seize
the initiative from the Congolese Trade Union Congress
(CSC), to ensure that democratization is directed from
within the government.

Gaillard, Philippe. "La voie camerounaise vers le pluralisme
    [Cameroon's Path Toward Pluralism]," <u>Jeune Afrique</u>
    (Paris), no. 1571, February 6, 1991, 6-9. AP27.J4

Cameroon President Paul Biya plans to exclude exiled
politicians from multiparty legislative elections planned
for April 1993. A meeting of these exiled leaders was held
in Paris in January 1991. The article discusses the
current status of opposition groups based in Cameroon that
have registered to oppose Biya's People's Democratic
Movement (PDM) in the 1993 elections.

Gaillard, Philippe. "Un multipartisme bien singulier [A Quite
     Unusual Multiparty System]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no.
     1574, February 27, 1991, 22-23. AP27.J4

     Cameroon's opposition political parties are reported to be
     struggling for funds and support, while the ruling
     Democratic Assembly of the Cameroon People (RDPC) is
     divided over when to hold elections. Yondo Black's
     National Movement for New Democracy (NMND) is
     well-organized, but has little support outside the
     English-speaking community. The National Union for
     Democracy and Progress (UNDP), whose leaders are former
     RDPC members, is well funded, but Gaillard believes it has
     little new to offer. Two new parties, Integral Democracy
     in Cameroon (DIC), and Union of Cameroon Peoples (UPC),
     have little popular support. Meanwhile, RDPC leaders are
     debating whether to wait until April 1993, when
     presidential and legislative elections are scheduled to be
     held, or to take advantage of the current political
     confusion and hold elections now.

Girard, Patrick. "Imperturbable Sassou Nguesso [Imperturable
     Sassou Nguesso]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1575, March
     6, 1991, 16-17. AP27.J4

     Opposition political groups in Congo have begun organizing
     a democratization conference to be held sometime before
     June 1991. President Sassou-Nguesso, leader of the
     Congolese Labor Party (PCT), the country's only legal
     political party, has agreed to allow the conference.
     However, the author believes Nguesso will try to control
     the outcome so he can remain in power. The conference will
     discuss the outline of a democratic constitution,
     determine the rules for democratic elections, and
     deliberate on freedom of the press and human rights. More
     than 1,200 Congolese citizens, some of whom are political
     exiles, are expected to attend the conference.

Girard, Patrick. "Le PCT est mort, vive le PCT (PCT is Dead,
     Hurrah PCT)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1563, December
     18, 1990, 26-27. AP27.J4

     This article comments on the congress of the ruling
     Congolese Labor Party (PCT) that discussed the process by
     which the military-dominated PCT will institute democratic
     reforms to include the legalization of opposition

political parties. The congress, held from December 4 to 7, 1990, acknowledged that the Congolese people have indicated they want democracy. Furthermore, it accepted President Denis Sassou-Nguesso's call for a national conference of existing political groups to chart the future course of democratization. The article reports that opposition parties are unhappy with the slow pace of democratization in Congo. Sassou-Nguesso favors putting off democratic elections until his term in office expires in 1994.

Girard, Patrick. "Un senat au-dessous de tout soupcon? [A Senate Above All Suspicion?," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1570, January 30, 1991, 17. AP27.J4

Gabon's President Omar Bongo has suggested creation of a national senate as a second house of parliament to supplement the existing, popularly elected assembly. The second house would be elected indirectly by local officials, reestablishing a political power base eliminated when direct elections were instituted. The ruling Democratic Party (DP) favors the senate because it controls the most local governments in Gabon. Opposition parties, including the Woodcutters, Progress Party and Association for Socialism are still debating the issue. Many members of opposition parties see the senate as a power grab by the DP; others who lost campaigns for assembly seats view it as another chance to improve their party's standing. Bongo apparently has said that opposition parties would be guaranteed representation in the senate.

Grenier, Bernard. "Hatons-nous, mais lentement. [Let's Hurry, But Slowly]." Africa International (Paris), no. 230, September 1990, 45-46. DT1.A13.

President Denis Sassou-Nguesso ended a dialogue with his political opposition on democratization in Congo on July 4, 1990. The final communique published on that date acknowledged the desirability of establishing a multiparty democracy, but it proscribed democratic political activity in this one-party state until the government has had time to study and prepare the public for such a transition. Grenier suggests that the Sassou-Nguesso administration

probably has no intention of promoting democratization in
the foreseeable future.

Inongo, Sakombi, ed. Melanges pour une revolution (Mixtures for
a Revolution),. Kinshasa, Zaire: Lokole Publishers, 1987.
343p. JQ3619.A54.M45.

This book is a compilation of political essays by thirteen
Zairian scholars on political developments that have
occurred in the country since it became independent in
1960. It is organized into two parts: the essays in part
one focus on national politics over the thirty-year
period; part two analyzes the political doctrine of the
ruling Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR).

"Instauration immediate du multipartisme (Immediate Installation
of Multipartyism)," Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens,
no. 2343, October 5, 1990, 2831-2. HC10.M3

This news brief focuses on a government plan to
inaugurate a transitional democratic government in 1991,
when President Denis Sassou-Nguesso plans to relinquish
his office to an undesignated person. All interested
political groups have been invited to attend a January
1991 conference in Brazzaville to discuss the future
course of democratization. Some members of
Sassou-Nguesso's Congolese Labor Party (PCT) have joined
forces to organize a new political party which includes
former PCT vice-president Jean-Pierre Tshystere Tchikaya
and former foreign minister Pierre Nze.

"Just Who is Mobutu Sese Seko Trying to Please?" Africa Report,
(New York), vol. 35, no. 3, July-August 1990, 8-9.
DT1.A217.

This Africa Report editorial expresses skepticism about
President Mobutu Sese Seko's public statements on the
initiation of multiparty politics in Zaire within two
years. The editorial focuses on Amnesty International and
Belgian reports that suggest Mobutu has allowed his
government's security forces to murder students who
peacefully demonstrated against his rule only one month
after he announced his intention to allow democratic
movements to operate without fear of prosecution. Much of

the editorial focuses on claims that Mobutu is corrupt and
unlikely to share power with those who are not loyal to
his Popular Revolutionary Movement (MPR).

Kpatinde, Francis. "Le Babon entre Bongo et les Bucherons (Gabon
Between Bongo and the Woodcutters)," Jeune Afrique
(Paris), no. 1558, November 7, 1990, 28-29. AP27.J4

Opposition parties won 55 seats in the first multiparty
election for Gabon's National Assembly to be held in 22
years. In the November 1990 election, Mba Abessole, leader
of the main opposition Morena des Bucherons, withdrew his
candidacy for a National Assembly seat to protest to what
he insisted was electoral fraud. Despite Abessole's
action, 17 candidates of Morena des Bucherons won their
district elections. President Omar Bongo's Democratic
Party (GDP) has 62 seats which will give it a majority in
the 120-seat National Assembly.

"La transition vers le multipartisme [The Transition Towards a
Multiparty System]," Jeune Afrique, no. 1569, January 23,
1991, 92-93. AP27.J4

Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana has proposed three
political changes to promote democratization. First,
Habyarimana plans to separate the policymaking and
administrative organs in the ruling National Revolutionary
Movement for Development (MRND), Rwanda's only political
party, and in the government. Second, he has promised to
end the MRND's monopoly within the government by allowing
individuals who do not belong to the MRND to hold
government positions. Finally, Habyarimana established a
commission to study how to proceed with democratization.
The committee is scheduled to make its recommendations
public by April 30, 1991.

Laba, Ousmane. "Zaire: La democratie des "longs couteaux"
(Zaire: Democracy of "Long Knives")." Africa International
(Paris), no. 229, July-August 1990, 43-44. DT1.A13.

This article reports that several students who
participated in antigovernment demonstrations at the
University of Lubumbashi in April 1990, were killed as
part of a government crackdown on dissidents. Reportedly

President Sese Seko Mobuto's plan to inaugurate a
multiparty democracy in April 1991 was only a sham. The
article discusses Mobuto's plans, which include the
organization of three opposition political parties.

"Le PDG majoritaire avec 62 elus (PDG, Majority With 62
      Elected)," <u>Marches Tropicaux et Mediteraneens</u> (Paris), no.
      2347, November 2, 1990, 3139. HC10.M3

The results of Gabon's October 29, 1990 legislative
elections are discussed. President Omar Bongo's Gabonese
Democratic Party (PDG) won 62 seats and will have a
majority in the next National Assembly. The party that
finished second to the PDG with 19 seats, the National
Recovery Movement (MORENA), has not yet decided whether to
participate in a political system still dominated by
Bongo.

Lique, Rene-Jaques. "Yondo Black: tout, tout de suite! (Yondo
      Black: All, Right Away!)." <u>Africa International</u>, no. 231,
      October 1990, 22-24. DT1.A13.

Yondo Black, an outspoken critic of Cameroon's one-party
political system, told <u>Africa International</u> that he has
begun organizing an underground political party to oppose
President Biya's Cameroon People's Democratic Movement
(RDPC). In this interview Black calls for constitutional
reforms to institute democracy, new economic programs that
reduce the government's control over private industry, and
an end to press censorship and political repression in
Cameroon.

Misser, Francois. "Grudging Pluralism," <u>New African</u> (London),
      February 1991, 21. HC511.A12

New political parties established in Cameroon after
December 1990 are having a difficult time attracting
popular support because of government restrictions on
political activities and press censorship. President Paul
Biya has continued to jail his political opponents and,
despite 30 new laws that guarantee political freedom, Biya
has retained his authoritarian powers by declaring a state
of emergency. Under emergency rule, Biya can suspend
normal political campaigning as a threat to social order.

Misser, Francois. "Mobutu's Double Game," New African (London),
February 1991, 22. HC511.A12

The inability of Zairian opposition groups to organize
effective national political parties threatens that
country's democratization movement. More than 40
opposition political parties have been established since
President Sese Seko Mobutu agreed to end his power
monopoly in October 1990. Thirteen parties have been
formed by supporters of former President Patrice Lumumba.
Other political leaders and their parties are Kamanda wa
Kamanda's Common Nationalist Front (FCN), Nguza Karl i
Bond's Union of Independent Republicans and Federalists
(UFERI), Joseph Ileo's Christian Democratic Party (PDSC),
and Etienne Tshisekedi's Union for Democracy and Social
Progress (UDSP).

Misser, Francois. "Opposition Betrayed," New African (London),
no. 246, March 1988, 13-14. HC511.A12

The defection of three leaders of the Union for Democracy
and Social Progress (UDSP), a Zairian opposition political
party based in Brussels, has weakened UDSP efforts to end
President Sese Seko Mobutu's perpetuation of a one-party
state. The three UDSP leaders who defected to the ruling
Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR) were Frederick
Maliba, Joseph Mpandadjila, and Vincent Mbuakiem. Maliba
was a co-founder of UDSP in 1982. The author reports that
a fourth UDSP leader, Etienne Tshisekedi, was arrested for
disturbing the peace in Kinshasa on January 8, 1988 during
an antigovernemnt demonstration.

Misser, Francois. "The Man Who Challenged Teodoro Nugema," New
African (London), no. 251, August 1988, 17. HC511.A12

Severo Moto Nsa, leader of the Progressive Party (PP)
based in Madrid, Spain, returned to Equatorial Guinea in
June 1988 to promote democratization. Nsa, who had the
support of three Spanish opposition parties and other
European groups, was encouraged by President Teodoro
Obiang Nguema's public statements indicating that he would
allow other parties to oppose his Democratic Party (DP) in
June 1989 presidential elections. The author observes that
Nsa has faced a cool reception since returning to Malabo,
and Nguema has indicated he may retract his previous offer
to allow democratic elections.

"Mobutu Outsmarts Zaire Opposition," <u>New African</u> (London), no.
243, December 1987, 50. HC511.A12

Zaire's largest opposition party in exile, Union of
Democracy and Social Progress (UDSP), is criticized for
cooperating with President Sese Seko Mobutu's government
and for using foreign money to finance a night club in
Lusaka. UDSP leaders Etienne Tshisekedi and Faustin
Birindwa met with Mobutu in Gbadolite on June 27, 1987.
Although no public report of the meeting was released,
they reportedly discussed a possible exchange of political
favors if Tshisekedi and Faustin agreed to defect from the
UDSP. Tshisekedi denied that he had made any deal with
Mobutu and said that the UDSP would continue to oppose
Mobutu's refusal to hold democratic elections.

Munyarugerero, Francois-Xavier. "Oui au multipartisme (Yes to
Multipartyism)," <u>Jeune Afrique</u> (Paris), no. 1560, November
21, 1990, 7. AP27.J4

Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana, who is faced with
growing opposition to his military rule from groups based
in the country and abroad, has established a government
commission to examine multiparty political systems. The
article suggests that the civil war in Rwanda, and exiled
Rwandan political groups in Belgium, Canada, and Germany
are putting pressure on Habyarimana to democratize the
country. Habyarimana has asked the commission to submit
its report to him by December 30, 1990. A national
referendum on a multiparty system is scheduled for April
1991.

"Opposition Leader's Suggestions," <u>Africa Research Bulletin</u>
(Oxford, United Kingdom), vol 27, no. 11, November 1990,
9908. Not in LC

Former Prime Minister Nguza Karl-I-Bond plans to return to
Zaire in the near future to organize a political party to
oppose President Sese Seko Mobutu in a democratic
presidential election scheduled to be held sometime in
1991. The article reports that Bond is skeptical about
Mobutu's willingness to relinquish power voluntarily and
calls on France and other nations to avoid favoring Mobutu
during the political struggle between the ruling Popular
Movement of the Revolution (MPR) and unidentified
opposition parties.

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

"Opposition Parties Formed," Africa Research Bulletin (Oxford,
      United Kingdom), vol. 27, no. 11, November 1990, 9901-2.
      Not in LC

      This article discusses three of the Congo's new opposition
      parties. National Union for Democracy and Progress (UNDP),
      led by Pierre N'ze, a former member of the ruling
      Congolese Labor Party (PCT), has outlined a platform that
      opposes nepotism, tribalism, and authoritarianism.
      Assembly for Democracy and Social Progress (RDPS), led by
      Jean-Pierre Thystere Tchikaya, another former PCT member,
      proposes major changes in the economic sphere to bring the
      country out of isolation and promote the development of a
      free enterprise system. Congolese Liberal Party (PLC), led
      by Marcel Makon, is described as a right-wing political
      organization that encourages "individual initiative." A
      total of 22 new parties have registered with the Ministry
      of Territorial Administration and Local Government since
      President Denis Sassou-Nguesso approved the legalization
      of opposition parties.

"Opposition Party Congress," Africa Research Bulletin (Oxford,
      United Kingdom), vol. 27, no. 7, July 1990, 9761. Not in
      LC

      The first party congress of Gabon's main opposition party
      was held from June 22-24, 1990. This article reports on
      the political background and ideas of the founder of
      Movement for National Regeneration (MORENA), Father Paul
      Mba Abbessole and on MORENA's political platform.
      Abbessole, who has been a proponent of democracy since the
      1970s, was imprisoned by President Omar Bongo in 1976 and
      banished from the country in 1986. MORENA's platform calls
      for an overhaul of the taxation system, a reduction of
      bureaucratic control of businesses, improvement of the
      transportation system, and more public funding for
      education.

Placca, Jean-Baptiste. "Victoire du realisme sur l'ideologie
      (Victory of Realism Over Ideology)," Jeune Afrique
      (Paris), no. 1492, August 9, 1989, 20-21. AP27.J4

      This article reports on the Congo's political situation
      during the period following the July 1989 congress of the
      ruling Congolese Labor Party (PCT). Denis Sassou-Nguesso,
      who controls the party and government, is gradually moving

the country away from socialism. The article suggests that
President Sassou-Nguesso understands the failures of past
socialist policies.

Riding, Alan. "France Ties Africa Aid to Democracy." The New
     York Times, (New York), June 22, 1990, A3.

     In a June 1990 speech before the French-African Conference
     French President Francois Mitterrand praised the
     democratic reforms underway in Gabon, Benin, the Ivory
     Coast, and Zaire. Mitterrand insisted that he would not
     propose constitutional models to African states because of
     the diversity of civilizations and unique national
     characteristics of each country. As for economic aid,
     while the article does not report on the amount of French
     economic assistance going to Africa, it mentions that the
     Mitterrand government recently has reduced interest rates
     on the outstanding loans it has made to twenty-two African
     countries, and notes that France has been generous with
     its foreign aid. Mitterrand apparently is a proponent of a
     stronger international program sponsored by Western
     nations to provide economic assistance to Africa.

Simon, Catherine. "Mobutu Opens Pandora's Box," Manchester
     Guardian Weekly (Manchester, United Kingdom), vol. 144,
     no. 1, January 6, 1991, 13.

     This article suggests that Zairian President Sese Seko
     Mobutu and the political party he leads, Popular Movement
     of the Revolution (MPR), have few political supporters in
     Zaire or abroad. The author mentions three new political
     parties that eventually may come to power if democratic
     elections are held in the country. They are: Union for
     Democracy and Social Progress led by Etienne Tshisekedi;
     Democratic and Christian Social Party led by Ileo Songo
     Amba; and Federal Union of Independent Republicans led by
     Karl-I-Bond. Mobutu's presidential term ends in December
     1991.

Soudan, Francois, and Limam, Zyad. "Mobutu: "Je serais parti
     si..." (Mobutu: "I Would Have Left If...")," Jeune Afrique
     (Paris), no. 1533, May 21, 1990, 16-19. AP27.J4

This article reports on an interview with Zairian President Sese Seko Mobuto. Mobuto talked about the national consultation that he organized on multipartyism, and of his own future. The truth he gave in this interview may be contested by those who think he is not qualified to lead Zaire on the roads of democracy. But credit should be accorded to Mobutu: he did not reject any questions posed in the interview. He was content with distorting a few.

"The Political Scene," Country Report: Zaire, Rwanda, Burundi (London), Economist Intelligence Unit, No. 2, 1990, 11-15. HC591.C6Q15

Zairian President Sese Seko Mobutu's acceptance of multipartyism in April 1990 was a pragmatic political move made after Mobutu visited several regions of the country to ascertain the extent of popular support for democratization. Mobutu, who came to power by military coup in 1965, concluded after his tour that his regime lacked public support. This influenced his decisions to step down as chairman of the ruling Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR) and to call for a multiparty presidential election in 1991. Mobutu is said to be hoping that opposition parties will fail to unite thereby giving him the election advantage.

"Une conference avant les echeances electorales (A Conference Prior to the Election Date.)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1566, January 2, 1991, 26-27. AP27.J4

Congo's President Denis Sassou-Nguesso plans to remain on as a member of the ruling Congolese Labor Party (PCT) after democratic elections in 1991; however Sassou-Nguesso is reported to have no desire to run for president or another elective office. In a December 1990 interview, Sassou-Nguesso told the author that he plans to stay above partisan politics to guarantee "equal opportunity to all contestants."

Willame, Jean-Claude. "Political Succession in Zaire, or Back to Machiavelli." Journal of Modern African Studies (Cambridge, United Kingdom), vol. 26, no. 1, January 1988, 37-49. DT1.J68.

President Sese Seko Mobuto of Zaire is said to have
established a personality cult that is strong enough that
he is unlikely to be deposed by violent or peaceful means
during his lifetime. The author believes that the
establishment of democratic institutions is unlikely in
the foreseeable future in Zaire. Willame opines that the
constitutional process will emerge when Mobuto dies or
voluntarily leaves office. The constitution provides that
the central committee of Mobuto's own Movement of the
Revolution (MPR), Zaire's only legal political party, will
choose his successor.

Eastern Africa

"1990: A Year of Drama," Weekly Review (Nairobi, Kenya), August
    24, 1990, 16-17. JS7648.9.K5M87

Several prominent political opponents of Kenyan President
Daniel arap Moi, all of whom supported democratization and
the establishment of a multiparty political system,
mysteriously died or were imprisoned in 1990. Bishop
Alexander Muge, who died in an automobile accident on
August 14, 1990, had appeared earlier that day before a
government-sponsored committee responsible for overseeing
the public debate on multipartyism. In his speech before
the committee, Muge had proposed ending Moi's domination
of the country. Dr. John Robert Ouko, who also had
criticized Moi's rule, was killed in February 1990. The
article is critical of President Moi's apparent attempts
to use any means possible to preserve Kenya's one-party
political system and his own rule.

"A Fighter and a Politician." West Africa, (London), no. 3804,
    July 23, 1990, 2149. DT491.W4.

This editorial by the London-based news magazine praises
Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni for restoring certain
rights and freedoms denied citizens by two of his
predecessors. However, Museveni is viewed as committed to
the continuation of one-party rule. West Africa says he is
unlikely to allow his political opponents to organize
legal parties in the near future.

Agbobli, Atsutse Kokouvi. "Les partisans du president
    resserrent les rangs [Partisans of the President are
    Closing Ranks]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1575, March 6,
    1991, 18-19. AP27.J4

    Opposition political parties in Djibouti have claimed
    President Hassan Gouled Aptidon is abusing his power by
    arresting and imprisoning hundreds of potential political
    leaders. According to Amnesty International, there may be
    as many as 500 political prisoners in Djibouti's prisons.
    The author suggests that government repression and clan
    politics represent two obstacles to democratization.
    Opposition political parties mentioned in the article
    include, Popular African Line for Independence (LPAI),
    Popular Assembly for Progress (RPP), Democratic Front for
    the Liberation of Djibouti (FDLD), and National Union for
    Independence (UNI).

Bradshaw, York W. "Perpetuating Underdevelopment in Kenya: The
    Link Between Agriculture, Class, and State." African
    Studies Review, (East Lansing, Michigan), vol. 33, no. 1,
    April 1990, 1-28. DT1.A2293.

    The perpetuation of land ownership by the political elite
    is viewed as one of the ways President Daniel arap Moi's
    government has stifled the development of democratic
    institutions in Kenya. Members of Parliament, who are part
    of Moi's patronage system, are said to be more concerned
    with controlling their privately-owned farms and
    businesses than they are in representing their
    constituents.

Constantin, Francois. "Social Stratification on the Swahili
    Coast: From Race to Class?" Africa, (London), vol. 59, no.
    2, April 1989, 146-60. PL8000.I6.

    Differences in the political systems of Kenya, Tanzania,
    and Mozambique are viewed in relationship to racial,
    religious, and other sociological factors influencing
    their societies. The author speculates that two trends
    evident in each of the three countries could augur against
    the emergence of democratic institutions in the near
    future. These trends are the existence of large and
    inefficient government bureaucracies and an overdependence
    on foreign capital.

Dagne, Theodore. "Somalia: Current Conditions and U.S. Policy."
       Congressional Research Service. Library of Congress.
       Report for Congress. May 12, 1990.

       Opposition groups in Somalia are reported to lack
       expertise in developing and publicizing their political
       platforms. As a result, opposition groups are regionally
       based and attract little popular support. The author
       believes that support for the Somali National Movement has
       decreased in northern Somalia and this group probably is
       no longer a viable military or political threat to the
       government of President Mohamed Siad Barre. The two other
       opposition groups discussed in the study are the Somali
       Patriotic Movement and the United Somali Congress. Dagne
       notes that President Barre has promised to promulgate a
       multiparty political system in Somalia by the end of 1990.
       However, Dagne suggests that the apparent inability of
       opposition leaders to promote their political causes has
       given Barre an excuse to withdraw his support for
       democratization.

"Does Uganda Really Want Democracy?," New African (London), no.
       256, January 1989, 22. HC511.A12

       Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni is criticized for
       stalling plans to implement multiparty democracy. Museveni
       has argued that the people must use as their primary
       democratic forum local Resistance Councils established
       throughout the country. Opposition political groups, such
       as the Democratic Party, so far have not been allowed to
       participate in politics. New African questions whether
       Museveni ever intends to promote democratization in
       Uganda.

Dourado, Wolfang J. "When the Wind Blows," Africa Events,
       November 1990, 38-39. Not in LC

       The author, Zanzibar's former attorney general, argues
       that tribal differences in Tanzania, and other sub-Saharan
       African nations, are not serious enough to prevent the
       development of democracy on the continent. He believes
       Revolutionary Party chairman Julius Nyerere's June 1990
       speech, which called for establishing a multiparty
       democratic system in Tanzania, was a promising sign. It
       indicates that progressive African leaders formerly
       committed to retaining power are beginning to view

democratization more as a positive political process than
as a threat to their parochial interests. Dourado calls on
the United Nations to become more involved in promoting
democracy in Africa by defining the essentials of
democratic political systems and by leading an
international program to end the rule of dictators who
refuse to respect democratic principles.

Gaillard, Jean-Louis. <u>Somalie: Le peuple de Pount</u>. (Somalia: The
People of Pount). Paris: L'Harmattan, 1988. 141p.
DT401.5.G35.

This book discusses the socialist policies of President
Mohamed Siad Barre and examines how seventeen years of
socialist rule have affected the dominant Somali and other
ethnic groups in the country. The author opines that
despite the country's poor economic performance under
socialism, Barre remains firmly in control of the country
and he is unlikely to allow democratic reforms. Gaillard
identifies Barre's potential successors and suggests that
none appears eager at this point, to call for a change in
the political status quo.

Hansen, Holger Bernt, and Twaddle, Michael, ed. <u>Uganda Now</u>.
London: James Currey, Ltd., 1988. 376p. : Maps, Tables.
DT433.285.U43.

Twenty African, American, and British scholars contributed
articles on civil-military relations, democracy,
intertribal conflicts, and other issues relevant to
Uganda's political development. President Yoweri Museveni
is regarded as a political opportunist in the Milton Obote
mold and an unlikely proponent of democratization.

Hodd, Michael, ed. <u>Tanzania After Nyerere</u>. London and New York:
Pinter Publishers, 1988. 197p. DT448.2.T29.

Part six of this book, comprising chapters 17 through 20,
discusses the political problems that have plagued
Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi since he succeeded
Julius Nyerere as head of state in 1985. In chapter 17,
Haroub Othman criticizes Nyerere for failing to turn the
nationalist Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) into
a political party. In chapter 19, Werner Biermann suggests

that Mwinyi inherited an authoritarian state because
Nyerere reacted to international economic pressures on
Tanzania in the early 1980s by consolidating control of
state organs within Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), the
socialist party he continued to head in 1985. In chapter
20, David Throup describes how the CCM gradually absorbed
Zanzibar's political parties, particularly the Zanzibar
Nationalist Party (ZNP) and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP).

Kato, Wycliffe. Escape from Idi Amin's Slaughterhouse. London:
Quartet Books, 1989. 172p. DT433.283.K38.

This book is an autobiographical description of how Idi
Amin's regime treated intellectuals from 1971 to 1979 in
Uganda. The author, who was imprisoned by Amin in 1976,
escaped Uganda in 1977. Chapter one discusses the reasons
Amin won power by military coup in 1971. Kato blames
former President Milton Obote for undermining democracy
during his two terms as president. Under Amin, tribal and
regional tensions were exacerbated to the point that
Uganda remains too politically unstable for a return to
democracy.

"Kenya: Democracy in Danger," New African (London), no. 235,
April 1987, 18. HC511.A12

Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi, who opposes any movement
for democratization, is not expected to have any trouble
with UKenya, a new opposition party in exile. UKenya, also
known as Movement for Unity and Democracy in Kenya (MUD),
was established in London on February 14, 1987. The
article is critical of Moi's policies that fail to allow
political discussion outside his Kenya African National
Union (KANU). However, President Moi's opposition in exile
is said to be weak and to lack a clearly defined political
program.

Lagarde, Andre. "La reconstruction de l'Ouganda (The
Reconstruction of Uganda)," Marches Tropicaux et
Mediterraneens (Paris), no. 2331, July 13, 1990,
2041-2042.

This article discusses the four-year rule of President
Yoweri Museveni and mentions that although Museveni speaks

about democratization, he continues to prohibit opposition
parties from engaging in political activities. Museveni
participated in the 1990 French-African summit in La Baule
and spoke in favor of democratization during closed
sessions. The author speculates that Museveni eventually
may adopt a semi-democratic system. In this system the
National Resistance Movement (NRM) would maintain control
of the government while opposition parties, including the
Ugandan People's Congress and Democratic Party, would have
an undetermined role in the executive and legislature.

Madunda, Shaiya. "Make District Basis for Political Reforms,"
        Daily News (Dar es Salaam), December 14, 1990, 4.

The author believes a multiparty democracy is unnecessary
in Tanzania. Madunda argues that preservation of national
unity, which Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Revolutionary Party or
CCM) allegedly has brought to the country, is compatible
with democracy. He suggests that pluralistic politics is
possible in the existing political system.

"Multiparty Hopes," New African (London), no. 281, February
        1991, 19. HC511.A12

Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi opposes
democratization. Mwinyi has established a commission to
study the issue and has said that the people ultimately
will decide whether they want to continue living under
one-party rule, or change to a democratic form of
government. However, Mwinyi is jailing opponents of his
one-party state, including Christopher Mtikila, Mousa
Membar, and James Mapalala. Mapalala alleges that Mwinyi
realizes that his Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), also known as
the Revolutionary Party, could not hold onto power if
opposition parties were allowed to operate in Tanzania.

Mutahaba, Gelase. Reforming Public Administration for
        Development: Experiences from Eastern Africa. West
        Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press, Inc., 1989. xv,
        183p. JQ2945.A5 M88. .

Democratic reforms in these three one-party states have
focused primarily on changing central, regional, and local
government by incorporating management techniques adopted

from Western countries. By focusing on why and when
reforms in public administration have been instituted in
Kenya, Tanzania, and Zambia, Mutahaba succinctly defines
the ongoing struggle between authoritarian and democratic
organizations in each country. Mutahaba currently is
secretary general of the African Association for Public
Administration and Management in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Mzirai, Baldwin. "Tanzanians' Fears on Multiparty Founded,"
        Daily News (Dar es Salaam), January 3, 1991, 4.

Mzirai rejects the idea that a multiparty system is
necessary in African states, citing examples of failures
in Uganda, Ghana, Chad, and Nigeria and partial success in
Botswana. Referring to movements toward multiparty systems
in francophone Africa, he says they indicate that France
is calling the shots. The author quotes the democratic
principles espoused by British professor C.B. Macpherson
and claims Tanzania's political system falls within his
guidelines.

"Paramoia Strikes Kenya's Leading Opposition Voice," Africa
        Report (New York), vol. 35, no. 5, November-December 1990,
        8. DT1.A217

The editor of a Nairobi-based journal on legal and
political affairs in Kenya has become the target of a
crackdown on antigovernment publications. In September
1990, Kenyan authorities arrested Gitobu Imanyara, editor
of the Nairobi Law Monthly, and charged him with failing
to properly register the magazine, which has become
increasingly popular in Kenya since it was first published
in 1988. The journal has featured articles on
democratization and human rights. Africa Report states
that President Daniel arap Moi, who has ruled Kenya since
1978, has become increasingly authoritarian in recent
years. The government often ignores the rights of
citizens, including freedom of the press, guaranteed in
the 1982 constitution.

Roberts, Hugh. "Building Under Pressure," South (London), no.
        119, February 1991, 41. HC59.69 S65

Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, whose National
Resistance Movement (NRM) militarily won control of Uganda
in 1986, remains determined to maintain a one-party
political system. Although opposition parties exist, the
Democratic Party (DP) and Uganda People's Congress (UPC)
being two examples, these organizations are not allowed to
compete in elections for local and national government
councils. Roberts believes Museveni is unlikely to promote
democracy in Uganda.

Sathyamurthy, T. V. The Political Development of Uganda:
1900-1986. London: Gower Publishing Company, 1987. 781p. :
Maps, Figures. DT433.26.S28.

This book provides a comprehensive political analysis of
the tribal, religious, regional, and military groups that
have participated in Uganda's political evolution.
Chapters three through five discuss the British colonial
experience in Uganda. Chapters four through seven explore
the establishment of modern political movements in various
regions of Britain's Uganda Protectorate, with particular
emphasis on the separatist movement centered in the
Kingdom of Buganda. Chapter seven provides an in-depth
examination of the formation of national
parliamentary-style parties in the final years of British
colonial rule, and includes descriptions of regional and
ethnic factions that remain political forces in Ugandan
politics today. Chapter eight discusses the factors that
contributed to the failure of democratic government in
Uganda during the 1961-72 period. In the epilogue, the
author portrays President Yoweri Museveni as a populist
leader who is dedicated to ending regionalism as a
destructive force in Uganda. Sathyamurthy believes that
most Ugandans do not want a return to the political chaos
of the 1950s and 1960s, when democratic parties failed to
establish stable national institutions; or to rule by
repressive, elitist autocrats like Idi Amin and his
successors.

Shekalaghe, Sado M. "CCM Forever Dominant," Africa Events
(London), March 1991, 46. DT1.A2137

The article maintains that the absence of strong
leadership in organizations other than Tanzania's only
legal political party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) makes a

multiparty system unworkable in that country. The author argues that CCM has recruited Tanzania's "best and brightest" from all sectors, including the trade unions. The article praises President Ali Hassan Mwinyi's policies.

Shields, Todd. "L'Etat C'est Moi? (I Am the State?)," Africa Report (New York), vol. 33, no. 6, November-December 1988,, 49-51. DT1.A217

Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi, who also heads the ruling Kenyan African National Union (KANU), has refused to allow opposition political parties to form and has stifled any debate of controversial political issues during his ten-year rule. Shields reports that Moi's political opponents are harrassed; any who continue to criticize him are prosecuted as subversives. Two opposition parties are identified: Loigi wa Wamwere's Norway-based Kenya Patriotic Front (KPF) and Raila Odinga's Kenya Revolutionary Movement (KRM). Odinga has been in and out of jail for his political activities since 1982.

"What We Shall Not Do," Weekly Review (Nairobi, Kenya), October 5, 1990, 13-15. JS7648.9.K5M87

Kenya African National Union (KANU) chairman Peter Aringo told reporters that President Daniel arap Moi and the KANU executive committee are opposed to calling multiparty elections before 1993. Aringo criticized KANU's political opponents who favor holding democratic elections sometime in 1991 as "stooges who need enlightenment on how to live in harmony with the rest of society." The article observes that many political dissidents in Kenya question whether President Moi will honor his promise to allow other political parties to oppose KANU in the next presidential and legislative elections.

Southern Africa

Allen, Caroline. "The Politics of Apathy," Africa Report (New York), vol. 33, no. 3, May-June 1988, 49-51. DT1.A217

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who was preparing to run unopposed for reelection in October 1988, prohibited citizens not belonging to his United National Independence Party (UNIP) from voting in the election. Local UNIP officials refused to issue voting cards to anyone who opposed Kaunda or the UNIP, thereby making them ineligible to vote in the October election.

Anderson, Catherine. "All Shades of Truth: Reviewing the Road to Democracy in South Africa" <u>Mackenzie Papers</u>, (Toronto), no. 20, January 1990, 1-56.

The author believes the close ties established between the African National Congress (ANC) and South African Communist Party (SACP) could lead to the establishment of a socialist regime if the 1983 Constitution is amended to enfranchise blacks. The major theme of the study suggests that while moderates in the National Party and ANC appear to favor democratization, white conservatives and black leftists remain unwilling to compromise and their intransigence could prolong racial violence in South Africa.

Andriamirado, Sennan. "Les habiles concessions de Savimbi (The Skillful Concessions of Savimbi)," <u>Jeune Afrique</u> (Paris), no. 1561, November 28, 1990, 26-27. AP27.J4

The political goals of Jonas Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), include plans to negotiate a settlement with the Angolan government that would allow him to organize UNITA into a political party that would compete with the ruling Labor Party in democratic elections. UNITA-controlled areas of Angola, and UNITA support groups based in Lisbon, Portugal already are prepared to promote Savimbi's candidacy if President Jose Eduardo dos Santos calls for free elections.

Andriamirado, Sennon. "Elections presidentielles: Ratsiraka, quand meme... (Presidential Elections: Ratsiraka, Even So...)," <u>Jeune Afrique</u> (Paris), no. 1473, March 29, 1989, 28-29. AP27.J4

Didier Ratsiraka easily won reelection in the March 1989 presidential election. This article discusses the campaign strategies of Ratsiraka's opponents and analyzes what the election results mean for democracy in Madagascar.

Anglin, Douglas G. "Southern African Responses to Eastern European Developments," Journal of Modern African Studies (Cambridge, United Kingdom), vol. 28, no. 3, September 1990, 431-455. DT1.J68

This article discusses political developments in late 1989 and early 1990 in Swaziland, Lesotho, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia, Angola, Tanzania, and Mozambique. The author predicts that talk about democracy will not necessarily promote a political transformation in the region in a short time, because a generation of citizens in all but one country (Botswana) have been influenced by authoritarian ideologies. Former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, for example, has called for the institution of a multiparty system in Tanzania, but this respected African leader has encountered a more conservative response than he envisioned. Anglin concludes that socialism will remain strong in southern Africa for many years, but he believes that gradually each of the countries will introduce more democratic systems in response to changes in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and the rest of the international community.

"Angola: Multipartyism Endorsed," Africa Research Bulletin (Oxford, United Kingdom), vol. 27, no. 12, December 1990, 9933-9934.

During a December 1990 national congress of the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party (MPLA-LP), President Jose Eduardo dos Santos proposed the introduction of multiparty elections by 1992. This article notes that the MPLA-LP's acceptance of the dos Santos proposal does not guarantee an end to MPLA's civil war with Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). Apparently MPLA-LP hopes to use the transitional period to discard its Marxist-Leninist ideology and encourage popular support for its leadership under a socialist banner.

"Attempt to Kill Tekere," New African (London), No. 267,
    December 1989, 20. HC511.A12

    Edgar Tekere, who was elected to Zimbabwe's parliament in
    1985 as a member of the ruling Zimbabwe African National
    Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), but now heads Zimbabwe
    Unity Movement (ZUM), a small opposition party that
    opposes President Robert Mugabe's one-party policy, told
    New African that he believes that he has been an
    assassination target because of his efforts to promote a
    two-party political system. On an unspecified date in the
    fall of 1989 Tekere and Zimbabwe Senator William Ndangana
    were traveling in separate cars within a mile of each
    other on the road to Mutare. Ndangana was killed when an
    army truck crashed into his car. Tekere believes the
    incident was planned and that he was the intended target.
    The article observes that as Zimbabwe prepares for the
    1990 national elections, most Zimbabweans appear to have
    little interest in the political campaign. For example,
    8,000 people showed up for an Harare rally for President
    Mugabe, and 2,000 people showed up for a Bulawayo rally
    for ZANU-PF leader Joshua Nkomo. Another sign of political
    apathy is the low rate of voter registration for the 1990
    election. Tekere hopes that ZUM will win at least one seat
    in parliament in 1990.

Babu, A. M. "Struggle for Democracy," Africa Events (London),
    vol. 6, no. 12, December 1990, 30-31. DT1.A2137

    Before the 1964 union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar into the
    United Republic of Tanzania, multipartyism existed in both
    areas. This article attributes Tanzania's political and
    economic problems to the consolidation of the one-party
    state. Babu argues that the money the ruling Revolutionary
    Party has invested in its secret police and party
    bureaucracies should be diverted to promote the
    development of the private sector and multipartyism.

Battersby, John. "Mozambique Moves Toward Peace and Multiparty
    System." Christian Science Monitor, (Boston), July 10,
    1990, 1-2.

    Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano has allowed an open
    debate on the establishment of a multiparty state. The
    article reports that proponents of the idea say that

eliminating the current one-party system and replacing it
with a parliamentary system will promote political
stability and induce economic aid from Western countries.
Opponents of the plan claim a multiparty system is
untenable in the war-torn country because it will
exacerbate the already deep divisions that exist between
various ethnic groups.

Booth, Alan R. "South Africa's Hinterland: Swaziland's Role in
      Strategies for Sanctions-Breaking." Africa Today,
      (Denver), vol. 36, no. 1, January 1989, 41-50. DT1.A217.

      Swaziland's political and economic ties to South Africa
      are said in this article to resemble Hong Kong's
      relationship with China. While the article does not
      discuss the chances for democratic reforms in Swaziland,
      it describes how Mbabane has taken advantage of
      international economic sanctions against South Africa to
      develop its economic ties with Western democracies.

Cahen, Michel. Mozambique: la revolution implosee. (Mozambique:
      The Imploded Revolution). Paris: L'Harmattan, 1987. 167p.
      DT463.C34.

      This book discusses the socialist orientation and
      political doctrine of the late president of Mozambique,
      Samora Machel. Although democratic movements are said to
      be nonexistent in the one-party state, the book provides
      useful information on political factions within Machel's
      Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO).

Chaigneau, Pascal. "Madagascar: les ambiguites d'une reelection
      (Madagascar: The Ambiguities of the Reelection)."
      L'Afrique et l'Asie Modernes (Paris), no. 161, Summer
      1989, 51-58. DT1.A86.

      The author predicts that President Didier Ratsiraka's
      political future depends on his ability to rebuild the
      country economicaly and politically. The article notes
      Ratsiraka's campaign rhetoric before the March 1990
      presidential election. Ratsiraka is less doctrinaire than
      when he first became president in 1975. During the 1990
      campaign Ratsiraka did not use familiar slogans of the

past from "Boky Mena," the book he wrote on how socialism benefits Madagascar.

Chikulo, Bornwell C. "The Impact of Elections in Zambia's One Party Second Republic." Africa Today, (Denver), vol. 35, no. 2, April 1988, 37-49. DT1.A22.

Article reviews Zambia's 1973, 1978, and 1983 general elections and concludes that democratic reforms are needed to allow opponents of Zambia's ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) to have their names placed on the ballot in general elections.

Chioposa, Sylvester. "Kaunda Gives Way," New African (London), No. 278, November 1990, 21-22. HC511.A12

This article observes that multipartyism in Zambia still has a long way to go because the ruling United National Independence Party's (UNIP) national council still dominates the country's political system. However, Chioposa speculates that Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has lost ground in recent months to his former supporters who favor the establishment of a mulitparty democracy. Multiparty advocates mentioned in the article are: Humphrey Mulemba, former secretary general of UNIP; Joshua Lumina, former commander of the Zambian army; and Frederick Chiluba, leader of Zambia's largest trade union.

Chiposa, Sylvester. "Eccentric Elections," New African (London), no. 245, February 1988, 26. HC511.A12

Swaziland's unique system for electing members of parliament is discussed. Elders in the 40 electoral districts nominate 4 candidates on election day. Voters select 2 candidates to attend a meeting of the national electoral college in Lobamba. The 80 members of the electoral college meet in secret to nominate, discuss, and elect the 40 members of parliament.

"Democracy's Apprentices," Economist (London), vol. 318, no. 7692, February 2, 1991, 39-40. HG11.E2

This article notes that Zambia's promised multiparty
presidential election, to be held sometime before October
1991, probably will be a two-party contest between the
ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) and
Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), Zambia's most
popular opposition group. MMD is the only organization
strong enough to have a chance of unseating President
Kenneth Kaunda who is certain to be UNIP's candidate. MMD
has, as yet, not defined its political platform and The
Economist suggests that the political philosophies of its
leaders resemble UNIP's in many respects. Unless MMD can
demonstrate that it will bring about positive change in
Zambia, Kaunda and UNIP stand the best chance of winning
the election.

Economist Intelligence Unit. Country Report: Madagascar,
    Mauritius, Seychelles, Comoros. (London) No. 4, 1990. 51p.
    : Appendices. HC895.A1C678.

The sections on Mauritius and Comoros include analysis of
democratic developments in the two states. The balance of
power changed dramatically in the parliament of Mauritius
in September 1990 without an election when the Mouvement
Militant Mauricien (MMM) joined the government led by the
Mouvement Socialiste Mauricien's (MSM) Sir Aneerood
Jugnauth. The two parties now control 48 of the
parliament's 70 seats. However, this report suggests that
the MMM-MSM coalition is unpopular with many voters
because of political enmity between Jugnauth and Paul
Berenger, who is MMM's secretary general. In Comoros,
President Said Mohamed Djohar is under pressure from
France to call legislative and local elections or risk the
loss of French aid.

Edwards, Veronique. "I Am Prepared to Bow Out," New African
    (London), January 1991, 12-13. HC511.A12

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said he would relinquish
power if he lost a presidential election. In an exclusive
interview Kaunda told the author that he doubted he would
lose the presidency because he believed the majority of
Zambians support his United National Independence Party
(UNIP). However, Kaunda admitted he would be reluctant to
turn over the reins of government to an opposition leader
because, in his view, the country's most qualified

politicians are UNIP members who are committed to the
advantages of one-party rule. Kaunda also said that if
Zambians return UNIP to power in democratic elections, he
already has chosen a number of possible successors. When
asked their names, Kaunda replied that he would make such
an announcement at an appropriate time.

Egero, Bertil. Mozambique, A Dream Undone: The Political Economy
of Democracy, 1975-84. Uppsala, Sweden: Swedish Agency for
Research Cooperation with Developing Countries, 1987.
230p. JQ3671.A2E54.

This book explains the electoral system to popular
assemblies in Mozambique under the one-party system
imposed by the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
(FRELIMO). The author suggests that while FRELIMO's
national leaders, after ten years in power, have not
learned to act on the recommendations of locally-elected
officials, the fact that these institutions are in place
insures that the "democratic" rights of the country's
citizens are being respected. An appendix includes a
comparison of the Cuban and Mozambican political systems.

Gahla, Chukwuemeka. "Giant Strides." African Guardian, (Lagos,
Nigeria), vol. 5, no. 20, May 28, 1990, 20-26. DT515.A62.

Article describes how the African National Congress (ANC)
changed its political strategy in the early 1980s. During
the decade the ANC depended less on its Umkhonto we Sizwe
(Spear of the Nation) military arm to conduct terrorism
and focused more on broadening its democratic base within
the various black ethnic groups in South Africa. The
author considers 1983 to have been a crucial year in the
building of the ANC, and he credits a loose alliance
between the ANC and the South African Communist Party
(SACP) as promoting an effective trade union movement that
is strongly opposed to the de Klerk government. Despite
its association with the SACP, the ANC continues to
espouse its commitment to developing democracy in South
Africa.

Glickman, Harvey, ed. Toward Peace and Security in Southern
Africa. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Gordon and Breach
Science Publishers, 1990. 259p. DT1157.T68.

This book is a compilation of eighteen papers presented at
the April 1989 Conference on Security in Southern Africa
held at Haverford College. The conference brought together
American policymakers, African scholars, and several
American experts on southern Africa. The book is organized
into three parts: section one discusses South Africa's
influence in southern Africa; part two examines regional
and international pressures auguring for political,
military, and economic changes in the region; and part
three focuses on the United States' political and security
interests in southern Africa.

Griffen, Michael. "Ratsiraka's Volte-Face" <u>Africa Report</u> (New
    York), vol. 32, no. 3, May-June 1987, 50-52. DT1.A217

Madagascar President Didiar Ratsiraka's political rivals
are incapable of establishing national parties that could
eventually challenge Ratsiraka's own Advance Guard of the
Malagasy Revolution (AREMA). In 1985 Ratsiraka failed to
win the support of the leaders of six other
regionally-based political groups who sit on the Council
of the Revolution for a plan to merge all political
parties into a national socialist party. Griffen suggests
that Madagascar's six minor political parties are viable
political organizations that respond to the interests of
their small constituencies but have little influence over
the AREMA-dominated policymaking process.

Herbstein, Denis, and Evenson, John. <u>The Devils Among Us</u>.
    London: Zed Books, 1989. 202p. : Photos, Maps. DT1645.H47.

Two British journalists wrote this book as an apologia for
the non-democratic and often violent methods used by the
Southwest African People's Organization (SWAPO) to
increase its political base in Namibia before the December
1988 independence agreement. Many public groups,
particularly unions, gradually increased their
participation in public demonstrations against the ruling
South African government during the 1970s and in the 1980s
are reported to function as democratic institutions.
Strong support for SWAPO in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and
other countries in southern Africa probably will be
helpful in its effort to strengthen its political
organizations in Namibia. However, Herbstein and Evenson

do not comment on the attitudes of SWAPO's leaders
concerning sharing power with opposition parties.

Holland, Heidi. The Struggle: A History of the African National
       Congress. New York: George Braziller, 1989. xii, 252p. :
       photos. JQ1998.A4H65. .

       The book provides a pro-African National Congress (ANC)
       view of the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. Much
       of the focus is on Nelson Mandela, particularly on his
       role in establishing Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the
       Nation), the militant wing of ANC. According to Holland,
       Mandela determined sometime in 1961 that blacks in South
       Africa would have to use violence to counter the
       government's continual persecution of blacks. Holland
       finished writing her book in February 1989, nine months
       before President Frederik de Klerk's inauguration. Holland
       observed that the strength of moderates in de Klerk's
       National Party was increasing, and noted that this trend
       favored a negotiated end to racial violence in South
       Africa.

Holm, John D. and Molutsi, Patrick P. "Monitoring the
       Development of Democracy: Our Botswana Experience" Journal
       of Modern African Studies (Cambridge, United Kingdom),
       vol. 28, no. 3, July 1990, 535-543. DT1.J68

       The authors suggest that more research and writing on the
       problems faced by African countries that are attempting to
       develop democratic institutions are necessary to promote
       healthy democracies on the continent. Holm and Molutsi
       participated in such an endeavor in Botswana from 1987 to
       1988 with the cooperation of the government and opposition
       parties. The article describes how the ruling Botswana
       Democratic Party and the opposition Botswana National
       Front viewed their research and suggests several
       guidelines for future research on democracy in Africa.

Jaster, Robert S. "The 1988 Peace Accords and the Future of
       South-western Africa." Adelphi Papers, (London), No. 253,
       Autumn 1990, 1-76. U162.A3.

       Article examines the military and political events that
       led to the peace agreement signed by Angola, South Africa,

and Cuba in December 1988. The enactment of this peace
agreement promoted the establishment of democratic reforms
in Namibia with the Southwest Africa People's Organization
(SWAPO) being the primary beneficiary of the accord.
Angola, however, remains under communist rule and the
civil war in that country is still viewed as a threat to
peace in the region. Jaster supports SWAPO's pragmatic
policies since it took over the reins of government in
1989, but he cautions that ethnic and economic problems in
Namibia could have a destabilizing influence on
democratization in the future.

"Kaunda Fights Back," New African (London), no. 279, December
1990, 16. HC511.A12

Arthur Wina, a former finance minister, has organized
Zambia's first opposition party to oppose President
Kenneth Kaunda in an election tentatively scheduled for
October 1991. Kaunda is delaying constitutional changes
that would make it legal for Wina's Movement for
Multiparty Democracy (MMD) to campaign against the
country's only legal political party, Kaunda's own United
National Independence Party (UNIP). Wina turned down
Kaunda's offer to appoint him to a commission that is
studying how to revise Zambia's constitution because he
believes UNIP has too much control over political affairs.
Kaunda hopes that his political opponents, including Wina,
will be unable to unite behind one candidate to challenge
him at the polls in October.

"Kaunda's New Strategy," The Weekly Review (Nairobi, Kenya),
September 28, 1990, 60.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda claims to be moving
toward accepting a more open political system, but he is
believed to be maneuvering to guarantee that he will win a
democratic election tentatively scheduled for sometime in
1991. Kaunda now supports the basic articles of a
constitution that will allow political groups other than
his own United National Independence Party (UNIP) to
participate in next year's election. However, behind the
scenes he is attempting to reduce political support for
Frederick Chiluba, his strongest political opponent.
Chiluba currently is chairman of the Congress of Trade
Unions. A national referendum on the proposed constitution

is scheduled to be held on August 13, 1991 and democratic
elections probably will take place in September or October
1991.

"La democratie sans l'UNITA (Democracy without UNITA)," Le
     Nouvel Afrique Asie (Paris), no. 15, December 1990, 7.
     DT1.A4785

     The Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) is
     reluctant to agree on the type of multiparty political
     system to be adopted in the country until after the
     conclusion of its negotiations with the ruling Popular
     Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). This news
     brief suggests that UNITA was primarily responsible for
     the breakdown of the fifth round of UNITA-MPLA talks in
     Portugal. UNITA's representatives at the November 1990
     talks said that their MPLA counterparts had failed to
     agree to UNITA proposals for protecting the democratic
     rights of its supporters following a cease-fire. MPLA
     apparently will introduce multipartyism in January 1991
     with or without UNITA's support.

"La Renamo rejette la nouvelle constitution (Renamo Rejects the
     New Constitution)," Marches Tropicaux et Mediterraneens
     (Paris), no. 2348, November 9, 1990, 3208. HC10.M3

     Leaders of Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo) have
     rejected Mozambique's new constitution. Renamo claims that
     only members of the ruling Front for the Liberation of
     Mozambique (Frelimo) participated in writing the new
     constitution, and it further maintains that the
     constitution is undemocratic.

Laurence, Patrick. "De Klerk's Rubicon." Africa Report, (New
     York), vol. 35, no. 1, March-April 1990, 13-16. DT1.A217.

     President Frederik de Klerk's February 1990 declaration
     legalizing the African National Congress (ANC), South
     African Communist Party (SACP), and other banned political
     organizations is viewed as a positive step toward finding
     a peaceful and democratic solution to South Africa's
     political problems. The author believes that de Klerk's
     action will force the ANC to adopt democratic policies or
     risk losing its political power base. Laurence further

suggests that de Klerk's secondary goal was to undermine
SACP's claim that the ruling National Party would never
negotiate with black South Africans. The article reports
that the SACP currently controls 100 city governments in
South Africa.

Lazitch, Branko. Angola, 1974-1988. Paris: Est and Ouest, 1988.
107p. DT463.C34.

This book is a commentary on the absence of popular
support for the communist government of Jose Eduardo dos
Santos. It reviews various economic and social projects
started since 1974 and discusses the effects of the civil
war in Angola.

"Le president Kaunda s'engage dans le multipartisme (President
Kaunda Commits Himself to Multipartyism)," Marches
Tropicaux et Mediterraneens (Paris), no. 2354, December
21, 1990, 3647. HC10.M3

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda called on opposition
parties to "use ideas, not guns" after signing an
amendment to the country's constitution that provides for
the institution of a multiparty political system. Kaunda
signed the amendment on December 17, 1990, ending 17 years
of one-party rule in Zambia. However, Movement for
Multiparty Democracy (MMD), the main opposition party, has
accused the government of denying it equal access to the
government-controlled media. MMD also is suing the
government for alleged libelous use of the media, which it
claims has misrepresented the party's political message.

Legum, Colin. "South Africa in Turmoil." New African, (London),
no. 277, October 1990, 9-11. HC511.A12.

Article analyzes why South African black leaders and
President Frederik de Klerk have been unable to arrange
interparty negotiations to promote democratic reforms.
Within the dominant black political party, the African
National Congress (ANC), a hardline faction is opposed to
allowing Inkatha leader Gatsha Buthelezi to participate in
talks. Buthelezi, a Zulu chief and former supporter of
ANC's Nelson Mandela, has a sizeable political following
in Natal Province, particularly in the Bantu homeland of

KwaZulu. De Klerk's biggest problem is his apparent
inability to control the government's extensive police and
security forces. Legum believes that white commanders of
police units often refuse to deter or break up violent
clashes between competing black factions, including the
ANC and Inkatha, because they want to discredit de Klerk's
efforts to promote a larger role in the political process
for all black groups.

Legum, Colin. <u>The Battlefronts of Southern Africa</u>. New York and
London: Africana Publishing Company, 1988. 451p.
DT746.L425.

The politics of violence in southern African countries in
the decade from 1976 to 1986 is examined in the context of
regional and international struggles. Civil wars, or
support for wars in neighboring countries, are viewed as
an obstacle to the development of democratic institutions
in the region. The author believes that a political
settlement between the National Party and the African
National Congress of South Africa will have to occur
before stable, and peaceful, political development can
take place in Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and other
countries in southern Africa.

"Les petits calculs du docteur Kaunda [The Small Calculations of
Doctor Kaunda]," <u>Jeune Afrique</u> (Paris), no. 1572, February
13, 1991, 18. AP27.J4

The legalization of the opposition party Movement for
Multiparty Democracy (MMD) is viewed as a positive step
toward democratization in Zambia. This article discusses
the obstacles facing MMD leaders as they prepare to oppose
President Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence
Party (UNIP) when democratic elections are held.

Lijphart, Arend and Stanton, Diane R. "A Democratic Blueprint
for South Africa." Pages 89-98 in <u>The South African
Quagmire</u>. Edited by S. Prakash Sethi. Cambridge: Ballinger
Publishing Co., 1987. xvi, 444p. HF1613.4.Z4U67. .

Rewriting the South African Constitution could be the
first step in a democratization process. The authors
believe that for a constitution to be democratic and

useful, given the political situation in the country, it
must include guarantees for proportional representation in
each of the branches of government. The article briefly
compares the language and ethnic problems in South Africa
with three Western democracies--Canada, Switzerland, and
Belgium. Local issues, such as the possibility of tribal
leaders supporting a new constitution, will also be a
factor in a democratization process.

Meldrum, Andrew. "Campus Criticism," Africa Report, vol. 34, no.
6, November-December 1989, 42-44. DT1.A217

Government harrassment of groups that oppose President
Robert Mugabe's plan to establish a one-party state in
Zimbabwe was particularly apparent from September to
November 1988. During this two month period Zimbabwe's
Central Intelligence Organization (CIO) detained students,
labor leaders, and eleven members of the Zimbabwe Unity
Movement (ZUM), a small political party that opposes the
one-party movement as undemocratic. This article reports
that the Zimbabwe government's actions have caused a
backlash of antigovernment public opinion that may stall
Mugabe's efforts to silence his political critics.

Meldrum, Andrew. "Mugabe's Folly." Africa Report, (New York),
vol. 35, no. 1, March-April 1990, 54-57. DT1.A217.

Article focuses on Zimbabwean politicians who oppose
President Robert Mugabe's plan to promote a one-party
state. Two prominent members of Mugabe's ruling Zimbabwe
African National Union (ZANU) during the party's December
1989 national convention in Harare delivered speeches that
were critical of legislating democracy out of existence.
Eddison Zvobgo, minister of state for political affairs
and ZANU's party chairman for Masvingo Province, said: "I
do not believe that a one-party state, despite the fact
that it embodies some democratic trends, is the best
system of democracy." Dumiso Dabengwa, ZANU's party
chairman for Bulawayo Province and a central committee
member, said that he favored eliminating Marxist-Leninist
ideology from the party constitution. Despite this
opposition, Mugabe reportedly has the political advantage
on this issue as ZANU's political opposition currently
lacks the strength to challenge Mugabe at the polls.

Molev, Vyacheslav. "Botswana: May There Be Rain." Asia and
     Africa Today (Moscow), May-June 1990, 62-67. DS1.A4714.

     Molev attributes Botswana's economic success to the
     multiparty democratic system that includes what the author
     portrays as an effective group of opposition parties.
     President Quett Masire is described as an effective leader
     who believes in the democratic system and works with the
     opposition parties in ruling the country. The article
     suggests that the National Front (NF), the country's
     leading opposition party, is a growing political force in
     Botswana. Molev specifically emphasizes the NF's success
     in the 1988 parliamentary and municipal elections.
     Although Masire's Democratic Party continued to dominate
     parliament, winning 29 of 34 seats, the NF was supported
     by one-fifth of the electorate and won control of three
     city governments, including Gaborone, the capital city.

Molutsi, Patrick P. and Holm, John D. "Developing Democracy When
     Civil Society is Weak: The Case of Botswana." African
     Affairs (London), vol. 89, no. 356, July 1990, 323-340.
     DT1.R62.

     Botswana's multiparty democracy has operated successfully
     for 25 years, but it suffers from a number of cultural and
     political problems. Civil servants are said to have more
     policymaking authority than elected officials. The
     dominant Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) controls the
     press and largely controls how dissenting opinions are
     printed and broadcast. Finally, the BDP, and the civil
     servants who serve BDP interests discourage opposition
     parties from participating in community kgotlas, which are
     local meetings called to discuss government policies and
     programs. According to Molutsi and Holm, the situation is
     slowly improving because a minority BDP faction favors
     increasing the public accountability of the party and
     government. Also, opposition parties are actively
     participating in freedom squares, which are meetings
     similar to community kgotlas that focus on debate rather
     than the implementation of government programs. Finally,
     many citizens are calling for new laws that will guarantee
     a free press in Botswana.

Morna, Colleen Lowe. "Banda's Quarter-Century," Africa Report
     (New York), vol. 34, no. 5, September-October 1989, 67-70.
     DT1.A217

President for life Hastings Kamuzu Banda is reported in
this article to remains opposed to democratization in
Malawi. Banda's political opponents have been forced to
leave the country. Three opposition political parties are
mentioned: Mafremo, based in Harare, Zimbabwe; and two
others, the Socialist League and the Congress Party, based
in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

"Mozambique Says Yes to Pluralism," New Vision (Kampala,
    Uganda), January 3, 1991, 6. Not in LC

Two new political parties are preparing to challenge the
ruling Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo) in
democratic elections planned for sometime in 1991.
Mozambique Liberal and Democratic Party (PALMO), favors
eliminating foreign ownership of businesses and
restricting the political activities of communists.
Mozambique National Union (UNAMO), the political wing of
Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo), will attempt to
challenge Frelimo in northern Mozambique. It has
established its headquarters in Nampala Province, which
has a population of about 4 million. The article predicts
that presidential and parliamentary elections will be held
in mid-1991.

"Mozambique: A Chance for Peace?" Africa Confidential (London),
    vol. 31, no. 21, October 26, 1990, 6-7. DT1.A2125.

Recent political developments in Mozambique have included
the establishment of two new political parties and the
possible organization of a third; progress in the People's
Assembly, Mozambique's legislature, in finalizing a new
and democratic constitution; and speculation that leaders
of the insurgent Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana (RENAMO)
may choose to end their 15-year struggle with the Front
for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). The two new
political parties are Partido Liberal e Democratico de
Mocambique (PALMO), and Uniao Nacional Mocambicana
(UNAMO). PALMO has published a 24-page statement on its
political agenda. Africa Confidential reports that the
document includes calls for limiting the role of
Mozambique's ethnic minorities in the nation's government
and economic affairs. Reportedly former RENAMO members
organized UNAMO. A Christian organization is considering
establishing a political wing that most likely would be

named the Christian Democrat Party. President Alberto
Chissano reportedly hopes that after the People's Assembly
completes the draft of a democratic constitution, RENAMO
will lay down its arms and participate in future
elections. RENAMO has political support in five of
Mozambique's ten provinces.

"Multiparty Campaign," Weekly Review (Nairobi, Kenya), August
24, 1990, 52. JS7648.9.K5M87

Leaders of the country's first opposition party, Movement
for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), held their first political
rally in Kabwe, 138 kilometers north of Lusaka, on August
18, 1990. At the rally MMD leaders criticized President
Kenneth Kaunda's abuse of human rights under his one-party
rule. MMD raised $200,000 at the rally, which was attended
by 50,000 people.

Murray, Peter. "Fighting Tooth and Claw," Africa Report (New
York), vol. 34, no. 1, January-February 1989, 38-39.
DT1.A217

Edgar Tekere, former secretary general of the Zimbabwe
African National Union (ZANU) was expelled from the party
on October 21, 1988 because of his opposition to President
Robert Mugabe's plan to establish a one-party state.
Tekere, who was interviewed by Africa Report on October
26, 1988, said he would continue to oppose Mugabe's effort
to eliminate all political opposition in the country.
Tekere also promised to speak out against corrupt
politicians. Tekere suggested that democracy in Zimbabwe
was impossible because Mugabe controlled not only ZANU but
also Zimbabwe's parliament.

N'Diaye, Rachid. "Interview Exclusive du President Said Mohamed
Djohar: "Je veux jaire demarrer la democratie dans mon
pays." (Exclusive Interview with President Said Mohamed
Djohar: "I Want to Start Democracy in My Country")."
Africa International (Paris), no. 229, July-August 1990,
39-40. DT1.A2125.

Africa International interviewed Djohar when he visited
Paris in the summer of 1990. Djohar claimed that his
election to the presidency in March 1990 with 55 percent

of the vote showed that his country was already a
democracy and demonstrated that he had committed himself
to promoting the peaceful development of democratic
institutions in the Comoros. Djohar asked the French
government for help in promoting democracy in his country.

Namibia: The Facts. London: International Defence and Aid Fund
        for Southern Africa, 1989. 112p. DT1645.N36.

    This book was written in support of the Southwest African
    People's Organization (SWAPO) before Pretoria agreed to
    end its rule in Namibia. Chapter eight, entitled
    "Liberation Struggle," describes the origins and growth of
    SWAPO's political organization in and outside Namibia.
    Although the book does not comment on the possibility of a
    multiparty democratic system being established after
    independence, SWAPO's one-party orientation would appear
    to preclude power sharing with rival political groups.

"New Mozambique Law Will Hedge Activities of Parties" Facts and
        Reports (Amsterdam, The Netherlands), vol. 21, no. 2,
        January 25, 1991, 15. DT36.F2

    Mozambique's National Assembly has released some
    information on the country's first law on the registration
    of opposition political parties. Front for the Liberation
    of Mozambique (FRELIMO) has been the only legal political
    party since the country won independence from Portugal in
    1975. The new law will require opposition political
    parties to establish national constituencies and to
    refrain from using religious slogans to garner political
    support. Opposition political parties will be guaranteed
    access to the press and will be given tax exemptions. The
    first multiparty elections will be held in 1991 and the
    government is investigating how they will be organized and
    financed.

"New Party Formed," Africa Research Bulletin, vol. 27, no. 4,
        April 1990, 9654. Not in Lc

    The political platform of the Christian Democratic
    Movement (MDC), an opposition party that was recognized by
    the Madagascar government on April 4, 1990, is discussed.
    The MDC's platform calls for the establishment of

diplomatic relations with South Africa and Israel, the
improvement of diplomatic relations with France and the
francophone countries in Africa, the expansion of the
legislative powers of the country's Popular National
Assembly, a reduction of state control of the economy, and
a reduction in defense spending. Jean-Jacques Rakotonirina
leads the MDC.

Nkala, Collet. "New Opposition for Banda," New African (London),
February 1991, 19. HC511.A12

Malawi President Kamuzu Banda's opposition to
democratization has spawned a political movement whose aim
is to remove him from office. Dr. Croosroads Sambanemanja,
who resigned from the Socialist League of Malawi (LESOMA)
because he felt that party was not serious about its
opposition to Banda, has established the Malawi Socialist
Labor Party (MSLP), and an MSLP army known as the Malawi
Republican Army (MRA). Both groups comprise a small number
of exiled Malawians who live in Tanzania. Sambanemanja is
seeking financial support from unnamed Arab states for his
opposition movement.

Olivier, Gerrit C. "Is Democracy on the Political Horizon?."
Pages 99-106 in The South African Quagmire. Edited by S.
Prakash Sethi. Cambridge: Ballinger Publishing, 1987. xvi,
444p. HF1613.4.Z4U67. .

The South African government is said to be gradually
increasing power sharing to expand the democratic
participation of black South Africans and other nonwhite
ethnic groups in the political establishment. The author
identifies four steps in this process: the banning of
overt public discrimination; the passage of the 1983
Constitution that granted blacks the right to hold public
office; the removal of sanctions on where blacks may live;
and government responsiveness to international pressure to
eliminate apartheid. Olivier is critical of black
organizations, including the African National Congress,
that favor majority rule in South Africa.

"Organisation prochaine d'elections legislatives (Coming
Organization of Legislative Elections)," Marches Tropicaux

et Mediterraneens (Paris), no. 2342, September 28, 1990,
2751. HC10.M3

Legislative elections probably will take place in Comoros
in the next few months, although the date apparently has
not been determined. Only national political parties will
be allowed to register candidates, thus excluding those
political organizations that represent a religious group
or a single ethnic group. The following political parties
are likely to participate in the legislative elections:
Comoran Union for Progress (Udzima) led by President Said
Mohamed Djohar; National Union for Democracy (UNDC) led by
Mohamed Taki Abdulkarim; Party for Democracy and Progress
(PCDP) led by Ali Mroudjae; Chouma led by Ali Kemal;
Democratic Union of Comoros (URDC) led by Mouzaoir
Abdallah; Democratic Front led by Moustoifa Said Cheik;
Comoran Socialist Party (Pasoco); and Popular Democratic
Movement led by Abbas Djoussouf.

"Organizing for People's Democracy?," Facts and Reports
        (Amsterdam, The Netherlands), vol. 21, no. 1, January 11,
        1991, 27. DT36.F2

This article suggests that Botswana is in danger of
becoming a one-party state because of its winner-take-all
electoral system. The strength of the ruling Botswana
Democratic Party (BDP) hindered the main opposition
Botswana National Front (BNF) and other opposition
political parties from getting constituents who favor
their policies to vote in elections. Facts and Reports
suggests that a parliamentary electoral system would
promote the development of opposition political parties in
Botswana.

Ottaway, Marina. "Mozambique: From Symbolic Socialism to
        Symbolic Reform." Journal of Modern African Studies
        (Cambridge, United Kingdom), vol. 26, no. 2, June 1988,
        211-226. DT1.J68.

The leaders of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
(FRELIMO) are portrayed as a group of antiquated communist
revolutionaries who failed to gain support for building
socialism in Mozambique and are now attempting to hold
onto power by courting the World Bank and the West.
According to Ottaway, FRELIMO's power base has improved

somewhat since it changed its economic policies in 1983 and 1984, but the country is said to remain a centrally-directed oligarchy lacking political organizations at the provincial and local levels. The author believes that the apolitical nature of the largely peasant population will allow Joaquim Chissano's government to remain in power for the foreseeable future.

Palmer, Robin. "Land Reform in Zimbabwe, 1980-1990." African Affairs, (London), vol. 89, no. 355, April 1990, 163-81. DT1.R62.

Article views land reform as one of the key elements of the fragile democratic system that was instituted after Zimbabwe gained independence from Great Britain in 1980. Anglo-Zimbabwe farmers organized the Commercial Farmers' Union (CFU) in the early 1980s, and have successfully fought efforts of the Mugabe government to force them to sell their land to Africans and resettle. The author discusses London's continuing interest--both political and economic--in the Zimbabwe land issue. Palmer concludes that the Mugabe government probably will not attempt to end by force white domination of farmland because of the CFU's influence within the Zimbabwe government and the strength of Britain's financial interests in the country.

Picard, Louis A.. "Traditionalism, the Bureaucracy, and Local Administration: Continuity and Change in Swaziland." Journal of African Studies (Los Angeles), vol. 13, no. 4, Winter 1986-7, 116-125. DT1.J653.

This article examines the political struggles in Swaziland between monarchists and those aristocrats and civil servants who favored the establishment of democratic institutions after the 1982 death of King Sobhuza. Picard believes Sobhuza intended to give tribal chiefs more political power by establishing legislative and executive councils at district and local levels to promote power sharing between the monarch's appointed political officers in Mbabane, and the district capital cities. Picard describes how Sobhuza's political successors stopped the development of these institutions to preserve the more autocratic system that the monarchists always dominated. Picard suggests that the monarchists own and control almost all of Swaziland's agricultural and industrial

assets and oppose democratic groups that inevitably would
change the status quo.

Picard, Louis A. The Politics of Development in Botswana: A
    Model for Success?. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers,
    Inc., 1987. ix, 298p. JQ2760.A2P53. .

    Chapter seven examines how Botswana's multiparty system
    functioned in four elections held between 1966 and 1984.
    Chapter eight discusses how the dominant political party,
    the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), functions at local
    levels. Chapter eight also discusses how citizens' groups
    at the local level interact with the BDP and with the
    government bureaucracy, which is also dominated by the
    BDP.

"Political Scene," Country Report: Zambia (London), Economist
    Intelligence Unit, No. 2, 1990, 7-8. HC915.A1C68

    Interest has increased within the ruling United National
    Independence Party (UNIP) in ending that party's monopoly
    of political power. President Kenneth Kaunda, who is also
    UNIP's chairman, announced at the party's March 1990
    congress that he opposes multiparty democracy because he
    believes it could renew intertribal political disputes
    that would destroy the unity UNIP has brought to Zambia.
    However, many UNIP members attending the congress argued
    that Zambia cannot ignore political developments going on
    elsewhere in the world and they opposed Kaunda's position.
    Kaunda appears slowly to be losing ground in his bid to
    maintain a one-party state. During the March 1990 congress
    UNIP voted to begin secret ballot elections of local
    government officials; previously, these officials were
    elected by a show of hands by eligible voters.

Rajoelina, Patrick. Quarante annees de la vie politique de
    Madagascar, 1947-1987. (Forty Years of the Political Life
    of Madagascar, 1947-1987). Paris: L'Harmattan, 1988. 176p.
    : Map. Ill. DT469.M34R33.

    This book provides a political chronology and analyses of
    Madagascar in four sequences: the revolutionary period,
    1947-1960; civilian rule after the country became

independent of France in 1960; the military regimes in
power from 1972-1975; and the 2d Republic, 1975-1987.

Remde, Achim. "Savimbi States His Case," New African (London),
no. 258, March 1989, 11-12. HC511.A12

In this March 1989 interview with New African, Jonas
Savimbi, leader of National Union for the Total
Independence of Angola (UNITA), says that he is opposed to
any negotiations that would disband UNITA, prohibit him
from running for president, or establish another one-party
system in Angola. Savimbi says that he would accept the
presidency only if he was elected in a democratic
election. Savimbi believes that the government of
President Jose Eduardo dos Santos lacks popular support
and will weaken following the withdrawal of Cuban troops
in 1989. Savimibi promised to fight on unless UNITA is
allowed its rightful place in a democratic political
system.

Saul, John S. "Development and Counterdevelopment Strategies in
Mozambique." Pages 109-153 in Afro-Marxist Regimes. Ed. by
Edmond J. Keller. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner
Publishers, 1987. JQ3752.A38.

The author wrote this political study of Mozambique
shortly after President Samora Machal's death. The author
describes the poor state of the country's socialist
economy in 1986, and discusses how Machal's successor,
President Alberto Chissano, dealt with numerous political
and economic problems during his first months in office.
Saul blames Mozambique's low development rate on three
factors: the ineffectiveness of Portugal's colonial
institutions before independence; the failure of the Front
for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) to make
large-scale, state-owned agricultural and industrial
enterprises work; and South Africa's continuing support
for the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO). Saul
believes that the United States could best facilitate a
change from socialism to democracy in Mozambique by
promoting humanitarian, educational, and economic
assistance; also, Washington could pressure Pretoria to
change its counterdevelopment strategy involving RENAMO.
The author believes that Chissano and FRELIMO control the
country to such a degree that it would be unrealistic to

expect democratic institutions to appear in this socialist
state for several years.

Sisk, Timothy D. "White Politics in South Africa: Polarization
Under Pressure." Africa Today, (Denver), vol. 36, no. 1,
January 1989, 29-40. DT1.A22.

The rising influence of the Conservative Party in South
African politics is said to signal the end of the National
Party's domination of the Afrikaner electorate in that
country. While whites who favor apartheid probably will
strengthen the Conservative Party's political power base
in the next few years, Sisk believes that liberal-minded
whites will form new political coalitions with blacks and
these coalitions eventually will control the country's
Parliament.

Sowerby, Norman. "Multiparty Setback," New African (London),
February 1991, . HC511.A12

The opposition political party, People's United Democratic
Movement (PUDEMO), has few supporters in Swaziland,
largely because King Mswati remains popular with his
countrymen. PUDEMO reportedly was established by a small
number of intellectuals who were influenced by the
democratic trends in other African countries. The lack of
public interest in the January 1991 trial of 10 PUDEMO
members is considered a sign that PUDEMO's call for
multiparty elections has failed to influence many Swazis
to oppose the current monarchy.

Stoneman, Colin and Cliffe, Lionel. Zimbabwe: Politics,
Economics, and Society. London: Pinter Publishers, 1989.
xii, 210p. : maps. JQ2929.A15 S79. .

Part three, entitled "The Political Process," comprises
two chapters that discuss how Zimbabwe's dominant
political party, the Zimbabwe African National Union
(ZANU), is organized along Marxist lines, but has had to
accommodate small political groups that strongly oppose
the establishment of a one-party state. ZANU candidates
are opposed in democratic elections for local district
councils and sometimes lose. However, these districts
suffer economic and political reprisals as the price of

their opposition to President Robert Mugabe's desire to eliminate ZANU's political opposition.

Sylvester, Christine. "Unities and Disunities in Zimbabwe's 1990 Election," Journal of Modern African Studies (Cambridge, United Kingdom), vol. 28, no. 3, September 1990, 375-400. DT1.J68

The author suggests that two images emerged from Zimbabwe's 1990 parliamentary election. Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF)portrayed itself as the unity party and Edgar Tekere's Zimbabwe Unity Movement's (ZUM) only strategy was to convince voters that ZANU-PF was too big and too authoritarian to be returned to power. Election results suggested that both parties were heard, but these results also indicated how weak Zimbabwe's parliamentary democracy has become. ZUM, the only opposition party in 1990, won seats in 3 of 119 legislative districts and represents little more than an outlet for voices of opposition to ZANU-PF. However, 40 percent of eligible voters did not vote, which indicates that ZUM may have a potential electorate if it can adjust to living in Mugabe's shadow.

Sylvester, Christine. "Unities and Disunities in Zimbabwe's 1990 Election" Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 28, no. 3, July 1990, 375-400. DT1.J68

This article focuses on the opposition Zimbabwe Unity Movement's (ZUM) campaign in the March 1990 parliamentary election. It also examines why Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union won only 15 seats in the 1985 parliamentary election and subsequently gave up its role as the main opposition party. President Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) is said to face serious internal problems, particularly corruption, that often have prevented it from delivering effective leadership in Harare or in the parliamentary districts. Sylvester believes this explains why ZUM received about 30 percent of the vote in the 1990 parliamentary election, although it lacked financial backing and had limited access to the government-controlled media.

"The Political Scene," Country Report: Zambia (London),
    Economist Intelligence Unit, no. 3, 1990, 7-13.
    HC915.A1C68

    Discontent is growing within the military and trade union
    organizations opposed to President Kenneth Kaunda's United
    National Independence Party (UNIP). On June 30, 1990 a
    group of soldiers broadcast a report on Zambia's
    state-controlled radio that President Kaunda had been
    overthrown in a military coup. Although the report was
    false and the soldiers were arrested, the incident
    indicates that Kaunda and his followers in UNIP no longer
    can ignore their political opponents. The article
    discusses ways in which Frederick Chiluba, chairman of the
    Zambian Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), and other
    proponents of multipartyism, have circumvented government
    attempts to stifle the democratization debate. Zambia's
    young voters appear to be turning away from UNIP in large
    numbers; this group of voters could decide the fate of
    multipartyism in the next elections.

"Un referendum sur le multipartisme aurait lieu en 1991
    (Referendum on Multipartyism in 1991)," Marches Tropicaux
    et Mediterraneens (Paris), no. 2340, September 14, 1990,
    2601. HC10.M3

    This news brief reports on the September 8, 1990
    antigovernment demonstration held in Lusaka, Zambia.
    Approximately 300,000 people attended the demonstration
    organized by the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD).
    It is likely that many members of President Kenneth
    Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP) will
    resign in the near future to join MMD.

Virmani, K. K.. Zambia: The Dawn of Freedom. New Delhi: Kalinga
    Publications, 1989. 223p. DT963.62.V57.

    This book describes how President Kenneth Kaunda's United
    National Independence Party (UNIP) became the dominant
    political party in democratic elections held in Zambia in
    1964. It suggests that Kaunda's political opponents lacked
    the financial resources to challenge Kaunda. Virmani, a
    citizen of India, portrays Kaunda as a democrat and
    national hero because he mobilized Zambians against
    British colonial interests in the 1950s and 1960s. The

book does not include a discussion of political
developments in Zambia after Kaunda's first presidential
inauguration in October 1964.

"Who Will Be the Next President?," New African (London), no.
280, January 1991, 21. HC511.A12

Movement for Democracy (MMD), Zambia's main opposition
party, is carefully assessing public opinion as the first
step in its selection process for a presidential
candidate. The prospective candidate thought to have the
best chance of uniting the party is Humphrey Mulemba. He
is from northwest Zambia and has enough backing from the
major tribes in eastern, southern, and western Zambia to
challenge President Kenneth Kaunda. However, Mulemba lacks
the charisma of other MMD contenders, including Arthur
Wina and Fred Chiluba. New African suggests that it may be
to MMD's advantage to wait until a date is set for the
election before it makes the final choice. Zambia's ruling
United National Independence Party (UNIP) controls most of
the country's press, and once MMD's presidential candidate
is chosen, he is likely to be the main target of UNIP's
effort to convince people the MMD is not ready to become
the ruling party.

"Zambia: The Hour Has Come," Africa Confidential (London), vol.
31, no. 20, October 12, 1990, 6-7. DT1.A2125

This article reports that the credibility of Zambia's main
opposition party, Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD),
has been bolstered by numerous defections from the ruling
United National Independence Party (UNIP). Some of MMD's
new members include former finance minister Robinson
Nabulyato; former finance minister Arthur Wina; and former
UNIP secretary general Humphrey Mulemba.

"Zambia: The MMD Lineup," Africa Confidential (London), vol. 32,
no. 5, March 8, 1991, 5-6. DT1.A2125

Twelve hundred delegates representing every province of
Zambia met in Lusaka (February 27-March 2, 1991) to elect
Movement for Multiparty Democracy's (MMD) president and
executive committee. Six hundred eighty-three delegates, a
clear majority, supported Frederick Chiluba. Arthur Wina

finished second with 208 votes, and Humphrey Mulemba a distant third with 168 votes. Wina and Mulemba are expected to promote Chiluba as MMD's unity candidate in Zambia's October 1991 presidential election. Several Western diplomats, who attested to the fairness of the proceedings leading to Chiluba's election, attended the MMD party congress. Two other parties are registered for the October election: United National Independence Party (UNIP) and Democratic Party (DP). The latter is led by Emmanuel Mwambu. Six other parties have applied to participate in the election, but as yet have not received government approval.

Zich, Arthur. "Botswana: The Adopted Land" <u>National Geographic</u> (Washington D.C.), vol. 178, no. 6, December 1990, 70-96. G1.N27.

Article attributes the success of Botswana's democratic political system to the popularity of the late President Seretse Khama who was also the founder of the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP). President Quett Masire, who was elected to head the BDP and the nation after Khama died in 1980, is an effective politician. Zich observed the 1988 parliamentary elections and was impressed by how national leaders rule through consensus. Although decision making often takes several months because of this process, Zich reports that most of Botswana's citizens are satisfied with their government and lead productive lives.

"Zimbabwe: The Single-Party Stakes," <u>Africa Confidential</u> (London), vol. 31, no. 13, June 29, 1990, 7. DT1.A2125

The majority of Politburo and Central Committee members of the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) oppose Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe's plan to change the country's constitution to ban other political parties. The following ZANU-PF members oppose the establishment of a one-party state: Joshua Nkomo, Joseph Msika, Steven Nkomo, Sydney Malunge, Dumiso Dabengwa, Eddison Zvobgo, and Bernard Chidzero. Prominent citizens who oppose a one-party state include former Chief Justice Enoch Dumbutshena, and academics Jonathan Moyo and Kempton Makamure.

Western Africa

Abidjan, Elimane Fall. "Laurent Gbagbo: Le multipartisme ne me
        suffit pas (Laurent Gbagbo: Multipartyism is Not Enough),"
        Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1534, May 28, 1990, 21-23.
        AP27.J4

        This article discusses the political views of Laurent
        Gbagbo, leader of the Ivorian Popular Front (IPF), one of
        seven opposition parties recently legalized in Ivory
        Coast. Gbagbo, who was forced into exile in 1982 because
        of his activities in organizing an underground opposition
        to Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, has
        returned to participate in the October 1990 presidential
        election. Gbagbo believes that the legalization of
        opposition parties is only the first step toward
        democracy. In the article he explains his views on power
        sharing and the role that opposition political parties
        should have in his country.

Agbese, Pita Ogaba. "The Impending Demise of Nigeria's
        Forthcoming Third Republic" Africa Today (Denver), no. 3,
        September 1990, 23-44. DT1.A22

        This article criticizes the Nigerian military government's
        plan to establish two political parties to compete in a
        presidential election for a popularly elected civilian
        president in October 1992. Agbese believes that the
        military's zonal arrangements, designed to prevent one
        ethnic group from dominating either of the two political
        parties, will prevent average citizens in any state from
        influencing the candidates during the campaign. Agbese
        suggests that the July 1990 meetings of the Social
        Democratic Party and the National Republican Convention
        were attended by rich entrepreneurs who had connections
        with military officials and civilian government officials
        in Lagos. The author believes that a government elected
        under the democratic framework devised by the military
        will fail to win the trust of the majority of Nigerians.

Agbobli, Atsutse Kokouvi. "Togo: oui au multipartisme...non a
        l'opposition! (Togo: Yes to Multipartyism. . .No to the
        Opposition!)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1559, November
        14, 1990, 28-29. AP27.J4

Opposition group members have been excluded from the
commission that will draft a democratic constitution for
Togo. This article criticizes President Gnassingbe Eyadema
for choosing only his supporters to sit on the commission.
Eyadema has yet to clarify his personal views on the type
of democratic system he wants for his country.

Agbobli, Atsutse Kokouvi. "Un pas en avant, deux pas en arriere
(One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward)," Jeune Afrique
(Paris), no. 1561, November 28, 1990, 35. AP27.J4

This article discusses the obstacles that have slowed the
establishment of democracy in Guinea. President Lansana
Conte claims he wants the military to return to the
barracks. His people agree. However, neither Conte nor his
military and civilian supporters are ready to relinquish
power. The Guinean people blame Conte for not leaving
politics to the politicians and the army to the military.

Andriamirado, Sennan. "Le Mali dans la spirale democratique
[Mali in the Democratic Spiral]" Jeune Afrique (Paris),
no. 1569, January 23, 1991, 18-20. AP27.J4

Malian President Moussa Traore intends to remain in power.
This follows a period in which Traore encouraged a debate
on democratization within the ruling Democratic Union of
the Malian People (DUPM), the only legal political party.
In December 1990, when 6,000 people participated in a
march for democracy, Traore ordered restrictions on the
media's coverage of the event. However, two opposition
parties, Mali Alliance for Democracy (ADEMA) and National
Committee for Democratic Initiative (CNID) continue to
organize demonstrations without the government's approval.
The DUPM will attempt to adopt a policy on multipartyism
and democracy at its March 1991 Congress.

Andriamirado, Sennan. "Le reve d'Abdou Diouf (The Dream of Abdou
Diouf)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1539, June 27, 1990,
24-28. AP27.J4

In an interview with Jeune Afrique, Senegal President
Abdou Diouf talks about his aspirations for building
democracy in his country. Diouf's dream is to help
establish a democratic federation of states in West

Africa. Diouf also is committed to reforming his own
Socialist Party (SP). In this interview he talks about his
struggle with SP hardliners.

Ankomah, Baffour. "Elections Extraordinary," New African
(London), no. 255, December 1988, 10. HC511.A12

This article evaluates the military government's plan to
establish "democratic" district councils throughout Ghana.
Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, chairman of the ruling
Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC), has
structured elections so that voters will have no chance to
approve or disapprove of the PNDC's seven-year rule.
Ankomah suggests that election zones and the selection of
candidates by the PNDC were carefully arranged to avoid
embarrassing the government. The views of several exiled
political leaders, including J. H. Mensah and his Ghana
Democratic Movement based in London, are covered.

Appiah, Kwame Anthony. "Altered States" Wilson Quarterly
(Washington D.C.), vol. 15, no. 1, Winter 1991, 20-32.
AS36.W79A37

The development of indigenous and cross-cultural trade
unions, professional organizations, rural cooperatives,
and privately-funded special interest groups are needed in
West Africa, and other regions of sub-Saharan Africa, to
provide Africans with apolitical arenas to practice
democracy. The author, a Ghanaian scholar who has closely
followed post-colonial politics throughout the continent,
suggests that it will take time for sub-Saharan African
states to undo the tribal and other traditional
sub-national political organizations that have enabled
dictators to rule by excluding whole ethnic groups from
participating in the political process.

Bassey, Celestine O. "Retrospects and Prospects of Political
Stability in Nigeria." African Studies Review, (East
Lansing, Michigan), vol. 32, no. 1, April 1989, 97-113.
DT1.A2293.

Article suggests that the rejection of multistate
federalism by the 1958 Willink Commission set the stage
for the demise of democratic parties in Nigeria. The

author is pessimistic about the possibility of democratic reforms occurring in the 1990s. Factors cited as influencing the continuation of authoritarianism in Nigeria are: the country's poor economy; the ideological orientation of military leaders; and the politically disinclined nature of the average citizen.

Beckman, Bjorn. "Peasants and Democratic Struggles in Nigeria" Review of African Political Economy (Sheffield, United Kingdom), no. 41, 1988, 30-44. HC501.R46

The article suggests that a democratic rather than a socialist political system will prove more economically beneficial to Nigeria's peasant communities. Beckman examines the programs of socialist political parties in Nigeria, including Socialist Working People's Party (SWPP), Socialist Party of Workers, Youth, and Farmers (SPWYF), People's Redemption Party (PRP), and Bala Mohammed Memorial Committee (BMMC). Although these organizations have helped some, they have not effectively represented all groups. Beckman believes that President Ibrahim Babangida's democratic reforms will work if poor, middle-class, and wealthy landowners cooperate within local chapters of the new political parties.

"Benin: Massive Yes Vote," Africa Research Bulletin (Oxford, United Kingdom), vol. 29, no. 12, December 1990, 9934-9935.

The article discusses Benin's new democratic constitution and the political situation. The constitution, approved by a national referendum held on December 2, 1990, established separation of presidential and legislative powers and direct elections for the president and legislature with no restrictions on political parties. The first legislative election under the new constitution is scheduled for February 1991 and the presidential election will take place in March 1991. Few capable politicians are prepared to organize new political parties before the planned elections. Those that are include Adrian Houngvedji, leader of the Democratic Renewal Party (PRD), and Albert Tevoedjre, a former member of the ruling People's Revolutionary Party (PRP) who has announced plans to establish a new political party.

"Benin: Test-Tube Democracy," Africa Confidential (London), vol.
31, no. 7, April 6, 1990, 4-5. DT1.A2125

Democratic trends in Benin, following the February 1990
national conference that established a transition
government to prepare the way for multiparty elections for
a new president sometime in 1991, are discussed. Benin's
radio and television stations, no longer under government
control, broadcast antigovernment reports that alarm
Benin's neighbors. Premier Nicephore Soglo is credited
with having recruited many opponents of President Mathieu
Kerekou. President Kerekou's only existing political power
bases are said to be in the army and the intelligence
services. The article notes that as long as Kerekou
controls these organizations, he remains in a position to
threaten the development of democracy in Benin.

Bourgi, Albert. "Cote d'Ivoire: une cure de tolerance [Ivory
Coast: Tolerance as a Cure]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no.
1569, January 23, 1991, 28-29. AP27.J4

Chronic political unrest and economic crisis gave the
Ivory Coast a poor reputation in 1990. However,
parliamentary, and local elections in January 1991 gave
new hope and a feeling of true democratic transition.
Laurent Gbagbo and Francis Wodie, leaders of the Popular
Front (PF) and Ivorian Workers Party (PTI) together have
ten seats in parliament. It is likely the two leaders will
form a united faction in parliament unless President Felix
Houphouet-Boigny opposes such a move. Paul Akoto Yaou, the
leading candidate to succeed President Houphoet-Boigny as
president of the ruling Democratic Party (DP), has said
little on democratization. Prime Minister Alassane
Quattara has promised to broaden freedom of the press.

Bourgi, Albert. "L'archipel de l'esperance [The Archipelago of
Hope]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1575, March 6. 1991,
20-21. AP27.J4

This article discusses the peaceful transfer of power in
Cape Verde following the February 1991 democratic
presidential election. Antonio Manuel Mascarenhas
Monteiro, presidential candidate of the Movement for
Democracy (MPD), defeated Aristides Pereira, presidential
candidate of the ruling African Party for Independence of
Cape Verde (PAICV). Pereira had been president since Cape

Verde won independence from Portugal in July 1975. The
author claims that two factors contributed to the
development of a multiparty democratic system in Cape
Verde: the success of democracy in Portugal; and the
influence of the Roman Catholic Church. Pope John Paul II
visited Cape Verde in January 1990.

Bourgi, Albert. "L'arsenal constitutionnel (The Constitutional
Arsenal)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1535, June 4, 1990,
20. AP27.J4

Benin's proposed constitution includes articles intended
to promote political competition for high level government
positions, including the office of president. Borgi
focuses on the articles of the proposed constitution that
will promote democratization in Benin.

Bourgi, Albert. "Mali: lendemains de faillite [Mali: Days After
Failure]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1572, February 13,
1991, 16-17. AP27.J4

President Moussa Traore, who plans to lead his Democratic
Union of Malian People (UDPM) when Mali holds its first
democratic elections in over 20 years, is expected to have
difficulty adjusting to the realities of democratization.
The author suggests that Traore will have to learn how to
function as a national leader and not as a "clan chief."

Bourke, Gerald. "A New Broom," Africa Report (New York),
January-February 1991, 13-16. DT1.A217

The poor performance of opposition political parties in
the Ivory Coast's 1990 presidential and legislative
elections is attributed to voting irregularities
perpetrated by President Felix Houphouet-Boigny's ruling
Democratic Party (DP). In the presidential election, the
DP introduced legislation on October 10, 1990, only 2
weeks before election day, that required Popular Front
(PF) presidential candidate Laurent Gbagbo to pay the
government CFA 20 million to appear on the ballot. Western
diplomats reported that during the voting for president on
October 28, 1990, DP officials stuffed the ballot boxes.
Gbagbo officially won 18 percent of the vote, but Western
observers believe he would have received between 30 and 40

percent of the vote in a fair election. Voter apathy and confusion contributed to the DP's landslide victory in the November 1990 legislative election. The DP won 163 of 175 National Assembly seats.

Bourke, Gerald. "Houphouet's Heavy Hand." Africa Report, (New York), vol. 35, no. 2, May-June 1990, 13-16. DT1.A217.

Article discusses the vicissitudes of party politics in the Ivory Coast. Within the ruling Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast (PDCI), President Houphouet-Boigny has prevailed over party members who have lobbied for amending the country's constitution to promote democratic pluralism. However, various leaders of trade unions and opposition political parties are becoming hostile to Houphouet-Boigny's hardline policies that limit their political activities. The author believes that Houphouet-Boigny's popularity is at an all-time low in the Ivory Coast because of the country's current economic and social unrest. Bourke predicts that a successor to Houphouet-Boigny will be chosen from the PDCI elite, possibly a few months after the October 1990 presidential election.

"Cape Verde/Guinea-Bissau: All Change," Africa Confidential (London), vol. 32, no. 5, March 8, 1991, 6-7. DT1.A2125

Carlos Veiga, Cape Verde's Prime Minister, is appointing members of the Movement for Democracy (MPD) to fill key ministerial and managerial positions in the civil service. The article reports that leaders of the African Party for Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV) have cooperated with Veiga and MPD. However, in Guinea-Bissau, where democratic elections are not scheduled until 1993, President Joao Bernardo Vieira opposes multipartyism and continues to arrest opponents who are attempting to organize political parties to oppose Vieira's African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC). African Confidential believes that public pressure in Guinea-Bissau probably will force Vieira to allow new political parties to organize and may also influence him to call elections before 1993.

Codjoe, Frank Kwaw. Elites, Ideology, and Development Problems of Ghana. Hamburg, Germany: Verlag an der Lottbek, 1987. xviii, 537p. JQ3036.C63. .

   The author of this book is an expatriate of Ghana who wrote this study to complete the requirements for a Ph.D. in foreign affairs at the University of Hamburg. The author last visited the country in 1986. Chapter eight describes how the military regime under Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings is continuing to repress by force the desire of the people to establish political parties to challenge the present government. The other chapters discuss Ghana's colonial history under Great Britain, and explain why authoritarianism has prevailed in the country's politics since it gained independence in 1957.

Conchiglia, Augusta. "Les partis? quel Cauchemar! (Parties? What a Nightmare!)," Le Nouvel Afrique Asie (Paris), no. 15, December 1990, 26-27. DT1.A4785

   This article suggests that the majority of Ghanaians support the military regime's political programs. The author maintains that the chairman of the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) Jerry Rawlings has convinced the people that the country is not yet ready for democratic politics. Conchiglia believes that Rawlings is popular in his country and would win a democratic election.

Conchiglia, Augusta. "Pereira decide de relever le defi (Pereira Decides to Take Up the Challenge)," Le Nouvel Afrique Asie (Paris), no. 16, January 1991, 14-15. DT1.A4785

   This article reports on the preparations for Cape Verde's first multiparty election for the National People's Assembly which is scheduled to take place on January 13, 1991. The ruling African Party for Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV) is in a tight race with the main opposition Movement for Democracy (MPD). Pre-election surveys suggest that the two parties probably will evenly split the 83 assembly seats. A presidential election between PAICV's Aristides Maria Pereira and MPD's Antonio Monteiro is scheduled for February 1991. The article notes that several minor political parties, including the Cape Verde Union for Independence and Democracy (IUCID), failed to

qualify to register candidates for the legislative election.

"Contre le parti unique (Against the Single Party)," Le Nouvel Afrique Asie (Paris), no. 16, January 1991, 18. DT1.A4785

This article suggests that large groups of Malians are protesting against the one-party political system imposed by President Moussa Traore. Marches and demonstrations organized by various opposition groups are widely viewed as a sign of crisis. Economic problems, broken promises on democratization, and widespread government corruption are contrasted to a more open press. The article notes that the Malian press is becoming increasingly critical of the Traore adminstration.

Da Costa, Peter. "The Invisible Opposition," Africa Report (New York), vol. 36, no. 2, March-April 1991, 45-46. DT1.A217

The tiny Gambian opposition party, National Convention Party (NCP) wants to ally itself with the ruling People's Progressive Party (PPP), which has ruled since independence in 1965. This would make The Gambia a one-party state. Although most Gambians are opposed to this, it is not clear how the political quandary will be resolved.

"Democracy in the Ivory Coast," Foreign Report, no. 2132, October 18, 1990, 4-6. D839.F66

Ivory Coast President Houphouet-Boigny, who announced on September 28, 1990 that his opponents in the October 1990 presidential election had been involved in a plot to assassinate Pope John Paul during his August 1990 visit to the country, is said to be fabricating the story to hold onto power. Foreign Report says that there is no evidence to support Houphouet-Boigny's claim, and it suggests that most people in the Ivory Coast no longer trust the government or the government-controlled press. Laurent Gbagbo, president of the Ivorian Popular Front, is Houphouet-Boigny's main political opponent. Gbagbo has the support of three smaller political parties: the Ivorian Workers' Party; the Union of Social Democrats; and the Ivorian Socialist Party.

Diallo, Siradiou. "Le multipartisme contre la crise
    (Multipartyism Against the Crisis)," <u>Jeune Afrique</u>
    (Paris), no. 1561, November 28, 1990, 42-46. AP27.J4

    Niger's President Ali Saibou is accelerating plans to
    introduce multiparty democracy in his country. Saibou, who
    was unopposed in the presidential election held in
    December 1989, has since announced his willingness to
    allow opposition political parties to form. Saibou also
    has reduced political surveillance and control of
    civilians that have been omnipresent in Niger since the
    1974 military coup. President Saibou, whose Tuareg tribe
    is one of the smallest in the country, is trying to
    improve his image among the Hausa, Djerma, and other
    ethnic groups in Niger.

Diallo, Siradiou. "Portrait d'un dauphin consacre (Background of
    a Designated Crown Prince)," <u>Jeune Afrique</u> (Paris), no.
    1560, November 21, 1990, 27-29. AP27.J4

    Less than one month after President Felix
    Houphouet-Boigny's reelection in October 1990, the ruling
    Democratic Party (DP) introduced legislation in the
    National Assembly that amended the nation's constitution
    to provide that the president of the National Assembly
    will become president if Houphouet-Boigny resigns or dies
    during his five-year term of office. This article
    discusses the political career of Henri Konan Bedie, who
    currently is president of the National Assembly. Diallo
    speculates that the constitutional change could perpetuate
    the DP's political dominance in the Ivory Coast, thereby
    slowing democratization.

Diamond, Larry. <u>Class, Ethnicity and Democracy in Nigeria</u>.
    Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1988. 376p.
    DT515.832.D53.

    The downfall of democracy in Nigeria in 1966 is examined
    through analyses of five crises that challenged the
    government of President Nnamdi Azikiwe during the
    1962-1965 period. The crises were: the formation of
    political parties in 1962; the 1963-1964 census; the 1964
    strike organized by the National Trade Union Congress; the
    1964 national election; and the 1965 regional election in
    western Nigeria. Diamond believes that these crises
    gradually eroded the Azikiwe government's legitimacy and

exacerbated ethnic tensions, thus leading to the January
1966 military coup.

Fall, Elimane. "Un elu, deux vainqueurs (One Elected, Two
Victors)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1558, November 7,
1990, 22-24. AP27.J4

This article credits Laurent Gbagbo, the presidential
candidate of the Ivorian Popular Front (IPF) in the
October 1990 presidential election, with paving the way
for future presidential aspirants. Although Gbagbo
received only 20 percent of the vote, this election marked
the first time since independence that an opposition
candidate publicly debated political issues with President
Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

Fatton, Robert. The Making of a Liberal Democracy. Boulder,
Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987. 189p. DT549.F37.

The evolution of the democratic electoral system in
Senegal is traced from its inception in 1976 through the
1983 national elections. Fatton focuses on the strengths
and weaknesses of the multiparty system. The peaceful
transfer of presidential power from Leopold Senghor to
Abdou Diouf in 1981 set an important precedent that has,
to date, been successful in Senegal. The difficulties
opposition parties have in finding financial support and
identifying clear political programs are viewed as the
major weaknesses of Senegal's political system.

Forrest, Joshua B. "Guinea-Bissau Since Independence: A Decade
of Domestic Power Struggles" Journal of Modern African
Studies (Cambridge, United Kingdom), vol. 25, no. 1,
January 1987, 95-116. DT1.J68

The author describes in this article how President Joao
Bernardo Viera, Guinea-Bissau's only leader since the
country won its independence in 1974, has used the
one-party system to eliminate his political opponents.
Forrest implies that Viera is unlikely to allow
democratization in his country as long as he remains in
power.

Galli, Rosemary E. "The Political Economy of Guinea-Bissau."
Africa, (London), vol. 59, no. 3, October 1989, 371-80.
PL8000.I6.

Article observes that there have been few changes in
Guinea-Bissau's political elite since the country became
independent of Portugal in 1973. Before 1973 Portugal
trained selected native loyalists for various positions in
its colonial government. The high illiteracy rate and poor
economy are the main reasons the people have shown little
interest in democratization.

Gilbert, Lam Kabore. "Un K.O. Historique [An Historic K.O.],"
Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1569, January 23, 1991, 92-93.
AP27.J4

Movement for Democracy (MPD) won two-thirds of the seats
in the January 1991 Cape Verde parliamentary elections.
The MPD victory was a major setback for President
Aristides Pereira and his African Independence Party
(PAICV), which until 1990 had been the country's only
legal party. Factors in the MPD victory were church
support, public dissatisfaction with the PAICV'S programs
in rural areas, and Cape Verde's high unemployment rate. A
presidential election is scheduled for February 1991.
President Pereira is the PAICV presidential candidate and
will oppose the MPD's Antonio Manuel Mascarenhas Monteiro.

Guluma, Esther L. "The Trouble With Liberia." Universities Field
Staff Reports (Indianapolis), 1990-91, Middle East/Africa
Series, no. 4, August 1990, 1-24. L13.A59.

This article discusses the reasons for Liberia's decline
in the late 1970s, and outlines developments in 1990 that
resulted in the collapse of law and order in the country.
From the time that the freed American slaves settled in
Liberia in the 1820s, they and their descendants have
frequently been in conflict with native tribal groups. The
tribal groups supported the late Samuel Doe's military
coup that deposed President William R. Tolbert's
government. Guluma believes that Doe unfairly won the 1985
presidential election, and his brutal treatment of
political opponents led to the successful military
campaign to oust him from power in 1990. Today, educated
Liberians are disappointed with the United States' failure

to oppose Doe's 1985 election, and there is little hope
that Americo-Liberians and the major tribal groups--Krahn,
Gio, and Mano--can cooperate to rebuild Liberia in the
near future.

Harsch, Ernest. "A Revolution Derailed," Africa Report (New
York), vol. 33, no. 1, January-February 1988, 33-39.
DT1.A217

This article explores the October 1987 military coup that
ended the four year rule of National Council of the
Revolution (NCR) Chairman Thomas Sankara. Captain Blaise
Compaore, currently chairman of the ruling Popular Front,
led the 1987 coup that resulted in the death of Sankara
and most of his supporters. The author, who was in Burkina
Faso in October 1987 and witnessed the coup, claims that
although Sankara and Blaise were Marxists, Sankara favored
a multi-faction political organization that would prevent
the development of a Soviet-style government and Blaise
wanted to consolidate power in the hands of the Burkinabe
Communist Union (UCB), which he controlled. Harsch
believes that Sankara was assassinated because Blaise
opposed Sankara's proposals to develop a more democratic
government in Burkina Faso.

Huband, Markor. "The Power Vacuum," Africa Report (New York),
January-February 1991, 27-30. DT1.A217

The political leanings of three Liberian leaders--Prince
Johnson, Charles Taylor, and Amos Sawyer--are examined.
Prince Johnson, who controls Liberia's largest military
force, opposes the presence in Liberia of West African
foreign troops sent by the Economic Community of Western
Africa (ECOWAS). Although Prince Johnson says he favors a
political settlement that would establish a multiparty
democracy, he refuses to disband his army and says he will
not support a government that excludes his organization.
Charles Taylor, whose army consists mostly of of Gio and
Mano tribesmen who opposed former president Samuel Doe,
has little support among these groups or anywhere else in
Liberia. If democratic elections are held in Liberia,
Taylor, who is an Americo-Liberian, would probably not be
an acceptable presidential candidate to any of the
indigenous tribes, including the Gio and Mano. Amos
Sawyer, who leads Liberia's interim government sponsored

by ECOWAS, lacks the political skills needed to unite the
nation. Sawyer has announced plans to hold democratic
elections once the military stalemate between Johnson and
Taylor has been resolved. However, the author believes
that ECOWAS forces will have to remain in Liberia to
protect Sawyer and to prevent a revival of 1990's anarchy
in Monrovia.

Igwebueze, Frank. "Toward 1990: Will Nwosu Be a Fair Umpire?"
      African Concord (London), vol. 4, no. 2, May 8, 1989,
      8-12. DT515.C688.

      Supposedly, the new chairman of Nigeria's National
      Electoral Commission (NEC) will establish multi-ethnic,
      multi-interest, civilian-led political parties in Nigeria.
      Humphrey Nwosu succeeded Eme Awa as the NEC chairman in
      March 1989 because Awa had fallen out of favor with
      Nigeria's military government led by General Ibrahim
      Babangida. The author says that Nwosu's political writings
      indicate that he understands the negative effect conflicts
      among Nigeria's numerous ethnic groups have had on
      previous efforts to establish democratic rule in the
      country. Reportedly, Nwosu's strategy focuses on bypassing
      the government-controlled press and encouraging local
      chiefs to build viable political coalitions with rival
      ethnic groups. One of Nwosu's biggest obstacles is the
      government's refusal to grant the NEC the power to
      register political parties. Igwebueze speculates that
      Nwosu's success will depend on whether he can work with
      the Armed Forces Ruling Council.

Jason, Phil. "Engineering Democracy," New African (London), No.
      265, October 1989, 39. 1C511.A12

      This article reports that President Ibrahim Babangida's
      military government stopped a movement by some members of
      local government councils to form a national political
      party by dissolving these councils in July 1989. The
      article suggests that democratization faces an uncertain
      future when elected representatives are prohibited from
      forming political organizations.

Kabore, Gilbert Lam. "Apres le pave, les urnes [After the
    Pavement the Urns]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1574,
    February 27, 1991, 16-17. AP27.J4

    This article reviews recent political developments in
    Niger, including the democratization movement. Several new
    political parties have formed since a general strike in
    November 1990 forced President Ali Saibou to announce
    plans for democratic elections. Although no date has been
    set for these elections, the article discusses several
    opposition political parties, including the Higher Council
    for National Orientation (CSON), National Movement for the
    Society of Development (MNSD), Niger Progressive
    Party-Democratic African Assembly (PRN-RDA), Union of
    Popular Forces of Democracy (UDFD), and Democratic and
    Social Convention (CDS).

Kabore, Gilbert Lam. "Et maintenant la cohabitation? [And now,
    cohabitation?]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1571, February
    6, 1991, 19. AP27.J4

    Cape Verde's first multiparty presidential election is
    scheduled for February 17, 1991. President Aristides Maria
    Pereira, who has led the nation since it became
    independent from Portugal in 1975, is facing former Prime
    Minister Antonio Manuel Mascarenhas Monteiro. The article
    discusses the political groups that support Pereira's
    African Party for Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV) and
    Monteiro's Movement for Democracy (MPD). Two smaller
    political parties are also mentioned: Cape Verde Union for
    Independence and Democracy (UCID), and People's Union for
    the Independence of Cape Verde (UPICV).

Kabore, Gilbert Lam. "La revolution au placard! (Revolution by
    Poster!)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1566, January 2,
    1991, 25. AP27.J4

    This article discusses democratic reforms and the
    formation of new political parties in Burkina Faso. The
    government established a constitutional commission in May
    1990 to write a democratic constitution that is to
    guarantee political and other freedoms. A number of new
    political parties already have been established. They
    include: Organisation pour la Democratie
    Populaire/Mouvement du travail (ODP/MT); Mouvement des

patriotes progressistes (MDP-ADP); Union des Democrates et
Patriotes du Burkina (UDPB); Parti Africain de
l'Independance (PAI); Union des Sociaux-Democrates (USD);
and Convention Nationale des Patriotes Progressistes
(CNPP).

Kadjor, Kofi Buenor. On Transforming Africa. Trenton, New
    Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 1987. 164p. DT30.5.H33.

    The author, press secretary of former Ghanaian President
    Kwame Nkrumah, wrote this book as a critique of the way
    African leaders have failed their people by controlling
    political affairs and the media. Kadjor's theme is that
    African politicians are ruthless individualists who
    purposely neglect organizing groups that include people
    from all walks of life in order to create a dynamic,
    democratic polity that promotes the well-being of all
    citizens in African countries. Hadjor is pessimistic about
    the future development of democracy in Africa because he
    believes that average African citizens are too uneducated
    and superstitious to overthrow the corrupt regimes that
    continue to use the army and police to stifle their
    political opponents.

Koehn, Peter H. Public Policy and Administration in Africa.
    Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990. 359p. : Tables,
    Figures. JQ3090.K64.

    Part three of this book focuses on the reasons why
    repeated calls for involving more citizens in planning
    national development have failed to bring about change at
    local levels in Nigeria. Beginning in 1979, government
    officials in Lagos asked state officials and local chiefs
    in the states of Kaduna and Bauchi to formulate programs
    for inclusion in the 1981-1985 five-year development plan.
    The experiment failed because political elites used the
    process to serve their interests; state and national
    planners failed to understand what programs were most
    needed at the grass-roots levels; and the average Nigerian
    has never learned to voice his or her opinion on public
    administration issues.

Kpatinde, Francis, and Minangoy, Robert. "Vitesse confondue avec
     precipitation? (Speed Confused with Precipitation?),"
     Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1561, 30-33. AP27.J4

     This article discusses the responses of Benin's political
     leaders to questions on that country's democratic
     constitution project. The government accepted the proposed
     160-article constitution without any debate on its
     substance. The constitution provides for six branches of
     government: National Assembly, Constitutional Court, High
     Court of of Justice, Supreme Court, Economic and Social
     Council, and High Authority for Audiovisuals and
     Communication. Under this constitution, Benin's president
     approves appointments to all high offices except for the
     National Assembly's president who is elected by members of
     that legislative body.

Kpatinde, Francis. "Mali: le front du refus [Mali: the Front of
     Refusal]," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1573, February 20,
     1991, 10-13. AP27.J4

     This article discusses Mali's democratization movement.
     President Moussa Traore, who came to power in the 1968
     military coup that deposed the democratic government of
     President Modibo Keita, has so far refused to allow the
     legalization of opposition parties. However, Traore is
     coming under increasing public pressure to allow
     opposition parties to participate in the next presidential
     election which is scheduled for June 1991. The article
     identifies several groups that are involved in Mali's
     democratization movement, including Mountaga Tall's
     National Democratic Initiative Committee (CNID) and
     Democracy Union of the Malian People (UDPM).

Kpatinde, Francis. "Que la foire d'empoigne commence! (May the
     Game of Grab Begin!)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1563,
     December 18, 1990, 30-31. AP27.J4

     This article discusses the formation of new political
     parties in Benin. Three men have announced plans to run
     for president when elections are organized. They are:
     Albert Tevoedjre, leader of Common Cause; Thomas Goudou,
     head of Builders of Liberty and Development (BGLD); and
     Fassassi Assani, who currently resides in Benghazi, Libya.

President Mathieu Kerekou has not yet announced whether he plans to run for president.

Kpatinde, Francis. "Voter ou pas: la est la question (To Vote or Not: That is the Question)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1560, November 21, 1990, 8. AP27.J4

This article reports on the reasons why fifteen opposition parties refused to participate in Senegal's nationwide election of municipal leaders. The election, held on November 25, 1990, was boycotted by the opposition parties because President Abdou Diouf's Socialist Party is allowed more access to the government-controlled media than the opposition parties. Under the current system, the Socialist Party candidates are allocated 50 percent of the radio and television time used for political campaigning and the 15 opposition parties must share the remaining 50 percent of radio and television time.

"L'etape du multipartisme (The Stage of Multipartyism)," Le Nouvel Afrique Asie (Paris), no. 15, December 1990, 7. DT1.A4785

This news brief reports that Togo is slowly moving toward the establishment of a multiparty political system. President Gnassingbe Eyadema's acceptance of the Constitutional Commission's recommendation that the constitution be rewritten before Eyadema's political party, Rally of the Togolese People (RPT), holds its next congress in December 1991 is a sign that Togo's democratization movement is irreversible.

"La vraie bataille commence (The Real Battle Begins)," Jeune Afrique (Paris), no. 1566, January 8, 1991, 7. AP27.J4

The people of Guinea approved a new democratic constitution in a December 23, 1990 referendum; however many opposition political groups inside and outside the country remain concerned about government restrictions on political activities. The article notes that while 99 percent of those who voted in the referendum supported the new constitution and the democratization it purports to bring to Guinea, General Lansana Conte plans to place limits on political groups that oppose his military

government. According to Alpha Conde, leader of a
political group that calls itself Regrouping of the People
of Guinea (RPG), the real battle for democracy has just
begun.

"Le gouvernement se prononce pour le multipartisme integral [The
Government Declares in Favor of Multipartyism]," Marches
Tropicaux et Mediteraneens (Paris), no. 2355, December 28,
1990, 3799. HC10.M3

President Joao Bernardo Vieira's government is preparing
to hold a national congress of the ruling African Party
for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde
(PAIGC), currently the only legal party in Guinea-Bissau,
to discuss the issue of multipartyism. On December 21,
1990, the PAIGC secretary of information reported the
party would hold a national congress in January 1991 to
discuss how to establish a multiparty democratic system.
One possibility under consideration would provide for a
two-year transition period during which opposition
political parties would be registered and campaigning for
democratic elections would be scheduled. President Vieria
reportedly views democratization as a process that will
make Guinea-Bissau a more dynamic society.

"Legislative Elections" Keesing's Record of World Events
(Cambridge, United Kingdom), vol. 36, no. 11, 37841-37842.
D410,K4

This report suggests that the failure of any of Ivory
Coast's 25 opposition parties to establish constituencies
in the 175 legislative districts was the primary reason a
major political realignment failed to materialize in the
November 1990 National Assembly election. The largest
opposition party, Laurent Gbagbo's Popular Front (PF), did
well in metropolitan areas such as Abidjan and won nine
seats. This, however, was the only bright spot, and
President Felix Houphouet-Boigny's ruling Democratic Party
(DP) had no competition in 40 legislative districts.

Lewis, Walker and Andzenge, Dick. "Nigerian Unity: Integrative
Processes and Problems." Journal of Developing Societies
(Leiden, The Netherlands), vol. 5, no. 2, 1989, 218-233.
DS1.C58.

The efforts of Nigerian democrats, particularly former President Shehu Shagari who was deposed by military coup in 1983, to promote multi-ethnic parties that could simultaneously promote national political institutions and accommodate the participation of all of Nigeria's ethnic groups are discussed in this article. Lewis and Andzenge maintain that the country's 1979 constitution was the most democratic ever written and they suggest that Shagari's National Party of Nigeria (NPN) promoted policies that prohibited the domination or exclusion of any ethnic group in national politics. The article is critical of military leaders who have ruled since 1983 for disrupting the evolution of the democratic poltical process in Nigeria.

"Liberia After Doe: The Bloody Struggle for Power." Africa Report, (New York), vol. 35, no. 4, September-October 1990, 5-6. DT1.A217.

Article provides a brief summary of causes for anarchy in Liberia. President Samuel Doe (killed after this edition of Africa Report was published) was no longer viewed as a politically viable leader because of the poor condition of his army and security forces. However, a split in the 15,000-man army of the National Patriotic Liberation Front (NPLF), the poorly-organized rebel organization seeking to depose Doe, was viewed as leaving Liberia with no legitimate successors. The article describes Doe, Charles Taylor, and Prince Yormie Johnson--the latter two being the leaders of NPLF's competing factions--as autocrats with no identifiable political ideology or policies. Africa Report says that it is unlikely that a peacekeeping force sent to Liberia by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) can restore political order in the near future because ECOWAS has limited resources and little outside support.

Lique, Rene Jaques. "Benin: le laboratoire de la democratie. (Benin: The Laboratory of Democracy)." Africa International (Paris), no. 228, June 1990, 31-34. DT1.A13.

Several likely presidential candidates in Benin's January 1991 democratic election are discussed. Since the fall of President Mathieu Kerekou's communist government in February 1990, leaders of numerous political groups that have operated clandestinely have announced plans to run

for president. Three former presidents, Hubert Maga,
Justin Ahomadegbe, and Emile Derlin Zinsou are attempting
to join forces to form the National Union for Democracy
and Progress. The article does not report which of the
three leaders will be the presidential candidate if the
coalition succeeds. Additional presidential candidates
identified in the article are: Gedeon Dassoundo of the
Alliance for Democracy and Progress; Guy Adjanohoun of the
Workers' Party of Dahomey; Timothee Adanlin of the
Democratic Union of Progress; and Marcellin Degbe of the
Movement for Democracy and Progress.

"Maradona's Dribble to Democracy," New African (London), no.
267, December 1989, 21. HC511.A12

This article reports that President Ibrahim Babangida's
plan to allow only two parties to compete in the 1992
presidential election has had positive and negative
effects on political circles in Nigeria. On the positive
side, Babangida's plan to promote a free and peaceful
election without the regional and tribal rivalries of the
past appears to be making progress. The most negative
effect has been the withdrawal from the political process
of several prominent political leaders who are unwilling
to join either of the political parties that are preparing
to compete in the 1992 elections. Another positive
development has been the release of several political
prisoners, all of whom are eligible to participate in
politics.

Meldrum, Andrew. "Banda in a Bind," Africa Report (New York),
vol. 32, no. 3, May-June 1987, 47-49. DT1.A217

Octogenarian Malawi President Hastings Bando's possible
political successors are likely to come from a small group
of life-long supporters. Meldrum suggests that as Banda
has lost some control over the day-to-day adminstration of
the ruling Malawi Congress Party (MCP) and the government,
two personal friends have become the "power behind the
throne." They are Cecilia Kadzamira, who has worked for
Banda since 1958 in various positions, and John Tempo,
Banda's official spokesman. Banda continues to ban
political opposition and to oppose democratization in his
country.

Morna, Colleen Lowe. "A Grassroots Democracy," Africa Report
(New York), vol. 34, no. 4, July-August 1989, 17-20.
DT1.A217

This article reports on February 1989 district elections
held in 110 Ghanaian constituencies for district
assemblies. All the elections were under the auspices of
the National Commission for Democracy (NCD); however,
government regulations prevented assembly candidates from
organizing political parties and soliciting private
contributions for their campaigns. The government of
Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings is promoting the
non-partisan district assemblies as the first step in a
program to build democratic institutions from the bottom
up. According to Kwamina Ahwoi, Ghana's Secretary for
Local Government, Rawlings believes that each locality
will learn self-rule and then the 110 districts will
influence the development of a federal or parliamentary
system.

Morna, Colleen Lowe. "Election Aftermath," New African (London),
no. 259, April 1989, 24-25. HC511.A12

This article reports on the completion of Ghana's district
council elections. According to Ghanaian Labor Secretary
Kwamina Ahwoi, the national government allowed everyone
interested in the political process to run for a seat on
the local district councils. Ahwoi said that the National
Commission for Democracy (NCD) financed the elections,
which began in December 1988 and ended in February 1989,
to guarantee that all candidates had an equal chance.
Morna believes that the elections, while not democratic
from a Western perspective, revitalized Ghana's local
governments by allowing Ghanaians to choose these leaders.
About 70 percent of all registered voters cast a ballot in
this election compared to only 20 percent in the last
local government elections held in 1978. The author
observes that it remains to be seen how well the district
councils will work with the ruling Provisional National
Defense Council (PNDC).

"Multiparty Debate." New African, (London), no. 277, October
1990,, 19-20. HC511.A12.

In July 1990 the Rawlings government suppressed two small
Ghanaian political movements, both of which called for the

establishment of a multiparty democratic system. The
leaders of a group calling itself the Kwame Nkrumah
Revolutionary Guards (KNRG) held a press conference on
July 24, 1990 in which they argued that a multiparty
system would be better than the current military-dominated
police state. A larger and more popular group, known as
the Movement for Freedom and Justice (MFJ), published a
statement on or about July 30, 1990 that claimed the
government's grass-roots democracy program was a sham and
criticized the government's stifling the right of
Ghanaians to speak out on political issues. The article
also reports that the state-controlled press
misrepresented the KNRG's views and the nine MFJ leaders
were arrested for participating in antistate activities.

N'Diaye, Rachid. "Guinee: l'eternelle transition (Guinea: The
Eternal Transition)." Africa International (Paris), no.
230, September 1990, 22-23. DT1.A13.

This article speculates about when, if ever, General
Lansana Conte plans to honor his promise to return his
country to civilian rule under a democratic system of
government. The author observes that when Conte deposed
the Toure government by military coup in 1984, he promised
to establish democracy in Guinea within five years. Conte
has publicized a constitution that would provide for a
democratic system with two political parties; however, in
1990, he continues to say that the restoration of civilian
rule is five years away. Toure is reported still to have a
political following in Guinea; if the military government
falls, he could conceivably return to power.

"National Assembly Elections," Africa Research Bulletin (Oxford,
United Kingdom), vol. 27, no. 11, November 1990,
9896-9897. Not in LC

This article suggests that opposition parties were poorly
organized and received little financial support in the
November 1990 National Assembly elections. Ivorian Popular
Front (FPI), the largest opposition party, fielded 100
candidates compared to the 234 fielded by the ruling
Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast (PDCI). The poor voter
turnout on election day, estimated at only 30 percent of
the 4.7 million registered voters, was blamed on the poor
organization of the opposition parties and the fact that

the majority of Ivorians did not believe that the regime
of President Felix Houphouet-Boigny would allow opposition
parties to participate in policymaking.

"No-party Democracy?," New African (London), No. 276, September
1990, 22-23. HC511.A12

Ghana's chairman of the ruling Provisional National
Defence Council (PNDC) uses the Bureau of National
Security Investigations to arrest his political opponents
who advocate multiparty democracy. Those arrested so far
include Kweku Baah, a lawyer and former member of
parliament; four military leaders (Moses Harley, Samuel
Twumhene, Rexford Ohemen, and Emmanuel Aninakwa); and at
least 200 others. The article includes a list of Ghanaian
organizations that are proponents of multipartyism. They
include: Trade Union Congress (TUC); National Union of
Ghana Students (NUGS); Ghana Bar Association (GBA); Kwame
Nkrumah Revolutionary Guards (KNRG); New Democratic
Movement (NDM); United Revolutionary Front (URF); and
Democratic Alliance of Ghana (DAG).

Noble, Kenneth. "Houphouet, 85, Faces Voters and Wins." The New
York Times, (New York), October 30, 1990, A3.

Article reports on the Ivory Coast's first democratic
presidential election since the country won independence
from France in 1960. Whereas Houphouet-Boigny, the ruling
Democratic Party's presidential candidate and the
country's only president since independence, won with 85
percent of the vote, the election indicated that the Ivory
Coast has a long way to go on the road to democracy.
Laurent Gbagbo, the presidential candidate of the Ivorian
Popular Front who finished second to Houphouet-Boigny in
the election, had only ten days to campaign and had
limited access to the state-controlled television, radio,
and printed media. Noble reports that Gbagbo appears to
have won a majority of votes only in northeastern
districts of the country. According to The New York
Times, 4 million citizens voted in the election. The Ivory
Coast has a population of about 12.5 million.

Novicki, Margaret A. "Interview--Abdoulaye Wade: Democracy's
Advocate," Africa Report (New York), vol. 36, no. 2,
March-April 1991, 41-44. DT1.A217

Abdoulaye Wade, leader of the Senegalese Democratic Party
(PDS), the country's most influential opposition party,
criticizes Senegal's democratic system in this interview
with Africa Report. According to Wade, former President
Leopold Senghor abrogated the democratic process when he
resigned in 1980 and amended the constitution to designate
as his successor Prime Minister Abdou Diouf, who remains
in power today. Wade maintains that the government exerts
too much influence over elections. It was for this reason
Wade and the PDS boycotted the November 1990 National
Assembly election.

Nwankwo, Arthur. The Military Option to Democracy. Enugu,
Nigeria: Fourth Dimension Publishing Co., 1987. 197p.
DT515.8.N888.

The author is critical of President Ibrahim Babangida for
claiming to promote a return to civilian rule while he is
perpetuating class and ethnic conflicts that inevitably
will prevent the development of democratic institutions in
Nigeria. In chapter two Nwankwo defines democracy as "rule
for the people, not by the people," and he says that the
meaning of the word implies that no one person or group
will dominate society. In chapter seven he describes what
is needed for Nigeria to evolve democratically: the
boundaries of states must be changed so that the country's
six regions, each dominated by a major ethnic or religious
group, can maintain some degree of autonomy while sharing
power with Lagos. The author proposes the organization of
electoral districts so that these six ethnic groups have
equal representation in the country's national assembly.
Also needed are some provisions in the constitution to
guarantee each ethnic group some power in the executive
branch.

Obasanjo, Olusegun. Selected Essays On Contemporary African
Development. Ibadan, Nigeria: Fountain Publications, 1988.
118p. DT30.5.O224.

The author, who was Nigeria's military leader from 1976 to
1979 when he voluntarily turned over power to newly

elected President Shehu Shagari, included eight of his
political speeches in this book. Obasanjo believes that
Nigeria can develop democratic institutions and become a
strong nation if its leaders avoid the pitfalls of the
past. Obansanjo says that today he farms and stays out of
politics because he wants to set an example to other
military men and politicians in Nigeria who, in his
opinion, refuse to learn from Nigeria's past mistakes. He
suggests that these men must learn to share power and to
follow constitutional procedures. In the last chapter, the
author focuses on the relationship of the United States
with African states. Obasanjo suggests that the fact that
Africa is poor and has many authoritarian regimes, and the
United States is rich and democratic, does not change the
fact that they share many mutual interests. Obansanjo
appeals to the United States to assist Nigeria and other
African nations, in building new political and economic
organizations.

Okadigbo, Chuba. Power and Leadership in Nigeria. Enugu,
    Nigeria: Fourth Dimension Publishing Company, Ltd., 1987.
    161p. DT515.8.O367.

    The author of this book supports Nigerian President
    Ibrahim Babangida's plan to establish a presidential
    democracy with two political parties. Okadigbo claims that
    a multiparty parliamentary system would not work in
    Nigeria because regionally-based political parties would
    try to dominate the national legislature and thereby
    destroy the national federal system. On the other hand,
    military rule has shown that most Nigerians do not want
    either a dictator or a one-party state. The regional
    checks and balances proposed by Babangida are said to
    provide the necessary framework for a workable democratic
    system.

Okorle, Emenike. "Unfamiliar Turn." African Guardian, (Lagos,
    Nigeria), vol. 5, no. 20, May 28, 1990, 8. DT515.A62.

    President Felix Houphouet-Boigny's weak control over the
    country's military probably forced him to legalize five
    political opposition parties. Houphouet-Boigny, who has
    been the country's only leader since independence, is
    believed to be in a precarious political position that
    could lead to his forceful ouster by the military in the

near future. The article notes that the people of the
Ivory Coast have long demanded democratic reforms, but the
military is also considered more likely to take control
should Houphouet-Boigny fail in his efforts to maintain
power.

Olugbade, Kola. "Sustaining Democratic Virtues in Nigeria:
        Expectations for the Third Republic." Corruption and
        Reform (Dordrecht, The Netherlands), vol. 4, no. 3,
        September 1989, 245-281. JF1081.C66.

        Nigeria's past experiences with democracy are analyzed,
        particularly the events that caused the downfall of the
        Second Republic (1979-1983), and suggestions are made
        concerning that country's current transition from military
        to civilian rule. Two major problems during the Second
        Republic were poor leadership and corruption. President
        Alhaji Shehu Shagari, who won elections in 1979 and 1983,
        was unable or unwilling to compromise with the political
        opposition, and Shagari misused the federal police and
        national security organizations during the 1983
        presidential election. Public outrage with Shagari's
        corrupt tactics led to the military coup of December 31,
        1983. The author believes that a new class of politicians
        is needed to promote democratic institutions in the
        forthcoming Third Republic. Olugbade's suggestions
        include: banning former politicians and military leaders
        from holding electoral office; changing the mind-set of
        leaders of the various ethnic groups from being "conflict
        generators" to being "conflict managers." The author says
        that there must be understanding that nationbuilding is a
        longterm process that requires compromise and consensus to
        succeed. Finally, Nigeria's constitution and laws must be
        changed to provide adequate checks and balances to prevent
        any individual or group from becoming too powerful.

Olumhense, Sonala. "The Road to Democracy," Africa Report (New
        York), vol. 36, no. 2, March-April 1991, 51-53. DT1.A217

        Nigerian local council elections held December 8, 1990
        were encouraging in that for the first time since
        independence there was no election-related violence.
        General Ibrahim Babangida, who has been the country's head
        of state since August 1985, determined that for democracy
        to succeed there must be a broadly based transition

beginning at the local level; the military must be phased out of political life; and the economy must be strengthened. The government disqualified 13 political groups that applied for recognition in 1989 because they lacked grassroots organizations and instead organized two national parties. The low voter turnout (20 percent) was the only disappointing aspect of the elections.

"Opposition Movement Launched," Africa Research Bulletin (Oxford, United Kingdom), vol. 27, no. 8, August 1990, 9790. Not in LC

This article reports the names of leaders of Movement for Freedom and Justice (MFJ), Ghana's main opposition party, and discusses why they are opposed to the military regime's nationwide "referendum" on democratization. The names and occupations of MFJ leaders are: Adu Boahen, history professor; John Hansen, lawyer; Ray Kakraba-Quarshie, lawyer; John Ndebugre, politician; and Obeng Manu, politician. The MFJ, established in August 1990, believes that the ruling Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) has excluded its opponents from participating in the democratization debate and it favors the liberalization of press censorship and other government-imposed restrictions on the individual freedoms of Ghanaians.

Perret, Thierry. "Le vent se leve-t-il? (Will the Wind Blow?)." Africa International (Paris), no. 229, July-August 1990, 41-42. DT1.A13.

A majority of Democratic Union of Malian People (UDPM) members, who attended a party conference on the desirabilty of establishing a democratic political system in this single-party republic, voted to allow other political parties to form and participate in future elections. In the voting, 17 of 35 UDPM members favored ending the country's one-party system. However, it is not yet known if President Moussa Traore, Mali's military dictator since 1968, will support or oppose the democratization movement.

"Political Scene," <u>Nigeria: Country Report</u> (London), No. 4,
1990, 7-12. HC1055.A1C68

The political section of this economic report analyzes
personnel changes in President Ibrahim Babangida's
military regime, moves to realign civil-military
relations, and developments within state-sponsored
political parties. Personnel moves, such as the promotion
to the position of vice president of former Chief of
General Staff Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, are viewed as
hurtful to democratization because they suggest the Armed
Forces Ruling Council is holding back on its promise to
include more civilians in policymaking positions. However,
Babangida's plan to reduce the defense budget and the size
of the armed forces is interpreted as a signal that he
intends to divest the military of its civil
responsibilities by 1992. The government's effort to
require the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the National
Republican Convention (NRC) to select leaders from various
regions of the country probably will not have much effect
on the political power bases of the parties. In the 1992
presidential election, the NRC is expected to run strong
in northern Nigeria and the opposing SDP is almost certain
to be the favorite of voters in southern regions of the
country.

"Political Transition Under Control," <u>Marches Tropicaux et
Mediterraneens</u> (Paris), no. 2330, July 6, 1990, 1941.
AP27.J4

The English-language abstract of a two-page article
indicates that the Nigerian military government, led by
President Ibrahim Babangida, appears to be behind schedule
in its democratization program. Two new parties--the
National Republican Convention (NRC) and the Social
Democratic Party (SDP) appear to be government-controlled.
The article describes Babangida as a skillful manipulator
of public opinion and suggests that he may use
democratization and economic problems as excuses for
postponing the reinstatement of civilian rule in October
1992.

"Presidential Regime from 1993," <u>Africa Research Bulletin</u>
(Oxford, United Kingdom), vol. 27, no. 9, September 1-30,
1990, 9225-9226.

This news brief explains the military government's policy
on democratization. The central committee of the African
Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde
(PAIGC), currently Guinea-Bissau's only legal party, met
on September 3, 1990 to consider establishing an elected
presidential democratic system of government. The article
reports that there was a consensus among PAIGC central
committee members favoring the promotion of democratic
institutions beginnning in 1991. President Bernardo Vieria
called for exiled political opponents of the regime to
return to Guinea-Bissau to participate in the
democratization process.

Rooney, David. <u>Kwame Nkrumah: The Political Kingdom in the Third
World</u>. New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1988. 292p.
DT512.3.N57R66.

The author believes that Kwame Nkrumah's socialist
ideology was more suited to Ghana's needs than any type of
democratic system. According to Rooney, party politics in
the First Republic (1957-66) and Third Republic (1979-81)
created conflict and economic chaos throughout the
country. Rooney suggests that the current head of state,
Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, is successfully
implementing Nkrumah's socialist system. The author
observes that there are two political movements within
Ghana's ruling Provisional National Defense Council
(PNDC): the June Fourth Movement and the New Democratic
Movement. Members of the former group believe Ghana should
cut ties with the West and adhere to a Marxist-Leninist
ideology. However, the dominent New Democratic Movement
favors a mixture of market and socialist economics. The
author praises Rawlings for learning from Nkrumah's
political mistakes. For example, Rooney believes that
Rawlings listens to the advice of the elected district
councils before he advises the PNDC on the implementation
of national policies.

Sanda, A. O., Ojo, Olusola and Ayeni, Victor, ed. <u>The Impact of
Military Rule on Nigeria's Administration</u>. Ile-Ife,
Nigeria: University of Ife Press, 1987. 344p.
JQ3086.C58.I47.

Sixteen Nigerian scholars wrote essays about the
military's influence on political and economic affairs in

their country. The introduction suggests that Nigerian intellectuals acknowledge that the military has instilled an appreciation for discipline among Nigeria's heterogeneous ethnic groups. However, some of the authors are critical of the military for having dismantled democratic institutions and replaced them with an inefficient and autocratic civil service.

"Sao Tome and Principe Opposition Wins Election. Former Minister Chosen to Head New Government," Facts and Reports (Amsterdam, The Netherlands), vol. 21, no. 3, February 8, 1991, 22. DT36.F2

President Manuel Pinto da Costa, whose Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe (MLSTP) lost the country's first multiparty election held on January 20, 1991, has agreed to turn over power to the Party of Democratic Convergence (PCD). Daniel Daio, a former minister of defense, will head an interim government. The PCD won the election with 70 percent of the vote.

Sawyer, Amos. "The Making of the 1984 Liberian Constitution: Major Issues and Dynamic Forces," Liberian Studies Journal (Oak Park, Illinois), vol. 12, no. 1, January 1987, 1-16. DT621.L525

This article examines the democratization movement that existed in Liberia in the early 1980s, at the time the government of the late President Samuel Doe appointed a commission to draft a democratic constitution. In 1983, this constitutional commission held meetings throughout Liberia and found widespread support for a multiparty system that would include constitutional guarantees limiting the authority of the president and military. However, President Doe vetoed many of the democratic aspects of the constitution that finally was instituted in January 1986. Sawyer, who was the chairman of the constitutional commission, believes Liberians overwhelmingly support the establishment of a free and fair electoral system and limits on the powers of state institutions.

Smith, Stephen. "Cote d'Ivoire: changement de regime (Ivory
    Coast: Change of Regime)." Africa International (Paris),
    No. 228, June 1990, 15-17. DT1.A13.

    The political plans of Ivory Coast's President Felix
    Houphouet-Boigny apparently include plans to step down
    from his office sometime in the near future. According to
    President Omar Bongo of Gabon, Houphouet-Boigny has
    privately discussed his plans to prepare the way for his
    hand-picked successor, Minister of Defense Jean Konan
    Banny. Public pressure, however, has forced
    Houphouet-Boigny to legalize political parties other than
    his own Democratic Party. The article suggests that
    Banny's political fortunes are uncertain at a time when a
    number of Houphouet-Boigny's political opponents are
    attempting to establish opposition parties.

"The Political Scene," Country Report: Ghana, Sierra Leone,
    Liberia (London), Economist Intelligence Unit, no. 4,
    1990, 11-12. HC1060.A1C68

    The political section of the Ghana report discusses
    prominent individuals and groups belonging to Movement for
    Freedom and Justice (MFJ), an antigovernment political
    group that favors the establishment of a multiparty
    democracy. MFJ leaders include, Adu Boahen, chairman;
    Johnny Hansen, first vice chairman; Ray Kakraba-Quarshie,
    second vice chairman; John Ndebugre, national organizer;
    Obeng Manu, national secretary; and Kwesi Pratt, deputy
    national secretary. MFJ leaders in London are Joshua
    Hamidu, J. H. Mensah, and Zaya Yeebo. The following
    Ghanaian dissident groups belong to or support the
    political program of MFJ: Kwame Nkrumah Revolutionary
    Guards (KNRG); New Democratic Movement (NDM); United
    Revolutionary Front (URF); and Front for Unity, Democracy
    and Development (FUDD). Ghana's ruling Provisional
    National Defense Council (PNDC) has denied MFJ legal
    status and has ordered the Bureau of National
    Investigations (BNI) and local police to monitor the
    group's activities and to prevent the MFJ from holding
    public demonstrations.

"Traore's UDPM Must Face Multiparty Question," Africa Report
    (New York), vol. 36, no. 2, March-April 1991, 10. DT1.A217

This news brief reports Malian President Moussa Traore has appointed a new interior minister (General Sekou Ly) to blunt the country's democratization movement. Ly, described as a Traore loyalist, has been ordered to disband political activities not involving the ruling Mali People's Democratic Union (UPDM). Malian Alliance for Democracy (ADEMA), trade unions, and student organizations are among the groups to be targeted by police.

Uwazurike, P. Chudi. "Confronting Potential Breakdown: The Nigerian Redemocratization Process in Critical Perspective," Journal of Modern African Studies (Cambridge, United Kingdom), vol. 28, no. 1, March 1991, 55-77. DT1.J68

The planning process for the reinstitution of democracy requires the examination of political, economic, and demographic factors. This article examines positive and negative aspects of President Ibrahim Babangida's policy for promoting a two-party democratic political system in Nigeria. Uwazurike supports Babangida's systematic approach to establishing a new democratic structure. However, he argues that Babangida is unrealistic in his belief that he can guarantee the success of his plan. Four unpredictable factors are viewed as keys to the success or failure of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republican Convention (NRC), Nigeria's only legal political parties. These factors include the government's ability to conduct fair elections, the success of the SDP and NRC in mobilizing the people to participate in the democratic process, the separation of future censuses from manipulation by politicians; and the willingness of SDP and NRC leaders to take the democratic process seriously. Uwazurike believes Africa needs an educational and research institution devoted exclusively to examining the successes and failures of various democratic systems, past and present, on the continent.

Vieta, Kojo T. "Theory and Practice." West Africa, (London), no. 3804, July 23, 1990, 2153. DT491.W4.

This article is a review of a recent law promulgated by Ghana's Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) with the intent of establishing local-level democracy within that country's military-dominated autocracy. Numerous

district assemblies were established in each of the country's ten regions and, apparently, representatives to these assemblies were freely elected by residents of the districts. However, many district assemblymen have been unable to legislate or lobby for district bureaucrats to implement their programs for the following reasons: they lack a basic understanding of their jobs; they have little communication with their constituents; and their legislation is ignored by the district executive committees that are loyal to Ghana's military dictator, Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings.